



THE LIBRARY  
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY  
PROVO, UTAH

Pheasant p. 75-

" Paper Duck 78

David Douglas 83

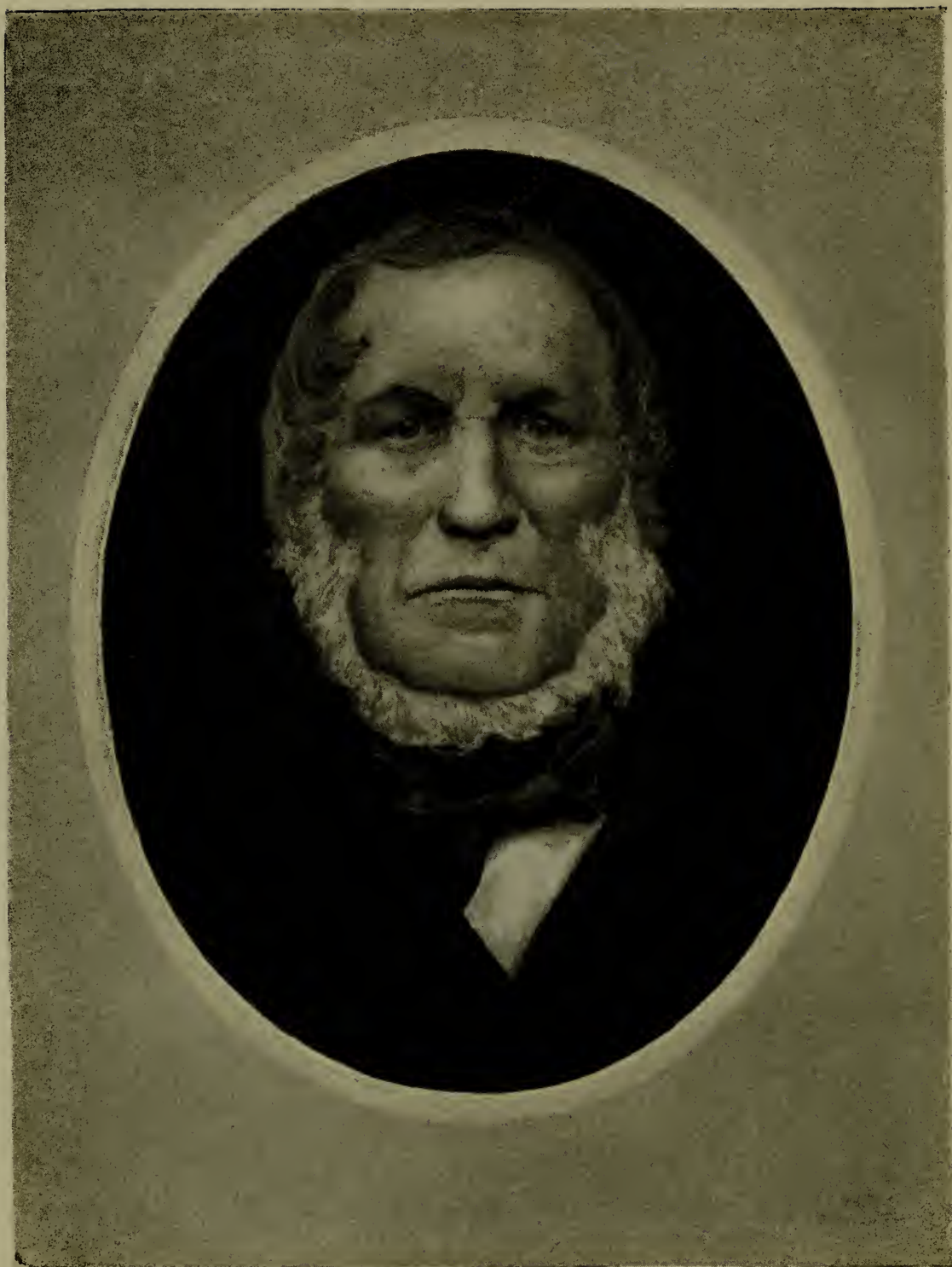












EDWARD ERMATINGER



*Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal, Being a Record of  
Journeys Made Between Fort Vancouver and Hudson Bay  
in the Years 1827-1828.*

With Introduction by JUDGE C. O. ERMATINGER and Notes by JUDGE  
C. O. ERMATINGER and JAMES WHITE, F.R.S.C.

Presented by J. H. COYNE, LL.D.

(Read May 14, 1912).

*Biographical.*

Edward Ermatinger, son of Lawrence Edward Ermatinger, Assistant Commissary General, was born on the Island of Elba, off the West coast of Italy, in February 1797, and his brother Francis ("Frank") Ermatinger was born at Lisbon in the year 1798. L. E. Ermatinger was born in Canada, where all his brothers and sisters resided from their infancy, except one brother, George, who crossed the lines at Saulte Ste. Marie and there died. Another brother, Frederick William, was Sheriff (or Marshal as the office was, I believe, then termed) of Montreal from 1813 to 1820, having succeeded his uncle Sheriff Grey, the first Sheriff of Montreal (1770 to 1813) under British rule. The grandfather of Edward and Francis Ermatinger, a Swiss merchant, must therefore have been among the first settlers after the conquest, his wife and Mrs. Grey and Mrs. Duke having been sisters of Sir Hildebrand Oakes, a British officer of some repute in that day, according to family tradition.

Lawrence Edward Ermatinger was educated in England and, on his return to Canada, was not contented to remain with his brothers and sisters, but soon returned to England and was employed in the Purveyor-General's Department and afterwards joined the expedition of Sir James Craig to the Continent as a commissariat officer. This accounts for Edward and Francis being born in foreign lands. Their mother, an Italian, died when they were infants. Soon after the lads arrived in England they were for a short time placed in a boarding school; but, during the many years their father remained abroad, they experienced many vicissitudes of fortune in and about London.

On peace being proclaimed, their father returned and the two lads, now well on in their teens, went into lodgings with him and from him received valuable instruction, by which they profited. Edward, especially, being of a more studious disposition than his brother, took

up the study of Latin, French and Italian, besides acquiring those habits of neatness and precision, both in caligraphy and expression, which his journals disclose. He, at this time, also took up the study of music and acquired some proficiency with both flute and violin, accomplishments which afforded him much enjoyment in after life, especially during his service with the Hudson's Bay Company. The loneliness of the life, the absence of amusements, especially in the evenings of the protracted winters spent in remote outposts, rendered any musical instrument in the hands of one who could master it, a delight, not only to the performer, but to his comrades as well. Where two or more, of musical taste and ability, were thrown together as sometimes happened, the enjoyment was enhanced by their joining in duets or concerted pieces.

The father of the lads, who had had no intercourse with his family in Canada for 20 years, now paid them a visit. While in Canada he met Colin Robertson (a Chief Factor since 1821) and he advised sending the young men to Hudson bay. In the spring of 1818, L. E. Ermatinger obtained for his sons apprentice clerkships in the Hudson's Bay Company's service. The contract entered into by Edward Ermatinger with the company lies before the writer. It provides that he shall enter into the Company's service "in the capacity of clerk and that he will embark when thereunto required, on board such ship or vessel as shall be appointed by or on behalf of the said Company and proceed to their settlements on Hudson's Bay aforesaid and there for the term of five years to be computed from the said embarkation" faithfully serve the Company as a clerk, and failing to give notice one year before the expiration of said term of his intention to quit the service, he shall serve one year longer and also until the next ship sails for Europe.

The agreement bears date the 13 May, 1818. The remuneration was for the 1st year £20, 2nd £25, 3rd £30, 4th £40, and 5th £50.

The brothers set sail from London in the *Prince of Wales* the latter part of May and arrived at York Factory on 14th August, 1818.

Edward Ermatinger remained in the Hudson's Bay Company's service ten years. During that time he wintered at Island Lake one year and part of another, as long at Oxford House, two years at York Factory, one at Red River and three years in the Columbia. He left the service in 1828 although his prospects in it were very good, and the promise of preferment was held out to him, "but nothing could induce me to spend the remainder of my life in a country, where so much hardship and privation had to be endured, beyond the bounds of civilization"—wrote Mr. Ermatinger afterwards. He came out by canoe route to Lachine, a diary of which trip is presented herewith.

His brother remained between 30 and 40 years, the larger part of the time on the Pacific side of the mountains.

Though Edward Ermatinger, after visiting his father in England (who died the following year) and spending a year with his uncle Charles Oakes Ermatinger at Montreal, was induced to re-consider his determination not to enter the Hudson's Bay Company's service again, he in fact never did so. He settled at St. Thomas in the Upper Province in 1830 where for many years he carried on the business of a merchant, a banker and postmaster of the town, in which he spent the remainder of his days. During one Parliament he represented the then vast county of Middlesex in the Parliament of the United Provinces. To the last almost he wielded the pen of a ready and thoughtful writer, as his many contributions to the Press, during many years, as well as some pamphlets and a biography of Colonel Talbot, in whose settlement he lived, testify. He married in the early 30's a sister of the rector of St. Thomas' Church, and daughter of the Hon. Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg. Unlike many of the Nor'Westers he had formed no previous alliance in the West. His brother Frank married a daughter of William Sinclair of the Hudson's Bay Co. (Chief Factor, 1850) and niece of Mrs. McLoughlin, wife of the noted Dr. John McLoughlin the head of the Company on the Pacific side. Frank died in 1857, Edward in 1876. The earthly remains of both rest in the old churchyard in St. Thomas, Ont.

As railway routes across the continent, and to Hudson bay as well, are now being much studied and discussed, it is thought that these Journals of early voyages over corresponding routes may be of some interest and possibly of value. The trip from York Factory to the Pacific coast, which consumed more than three months of the year in the early days, will, ere long, be accomplished in less than a week.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks information supplied me by Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Washington, relative to various places now within that state referred to in my father's Journal.

C. O. ERMATINGER.

St. Thomas, Ont.

May, 1912.



*Y<sup>1</sup> Express Journal<sup>2</sup>*

March 1827

*March—*

Tuesday 20th.—Fair weather. The Express Boat leaves Fort Vancouver<sup>3</sup> at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 6 o'clock p.m. A second Boat accompanies us as far as the Chûtes to assist in carrying our Boat over them and to strengthen the party. Passengers Messrs. McLoughlin<sup>4</sup>, McLeod,<sup>5</sup> Douglas,<sup>6</sup> Pambrun,<sup>7</sup> Annance,<sup>8</sup> and E. Ermatinger. Proceed 3 miles and encamp.

21st.—Embark at 4 a.m. Breakfast at the upper end of Prairie du thé.<sup>9</sup> Head wind strong all day. Encamp at the end of Portage Neuf. Trade 1 sturgeon and 1 salmon trout. Patches of snow along the banks of the River.

<sup>1</sup> A symbol signifying York Factory on Hayes river near mouth of Nelson river, Hudson bay.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the "Express" sent across the continent and back each season by the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Vancouver—Headquarters of Hudson's Bay Company on Pacific Coast at that time and for some 20 years after; on north bank of Columbia river, 7 miles north of the present city of Portland, Oregon. In 1846, it was the largest post in the Hudson's Bay Co.'s territories and there were, usually, two chief factors, eight or ten clerks and 200 voyageurs residing there. The buildings were "enclosed by strong pickets about sixteen feet high with bastions for cannon at the corners. The men, with their Indian wives, live in log huts near the margin of the river, forming a little village—quite a babel of languages as the inhabitants are a mixture of English, French, Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders, Crees and Chenooks" (Kane, *Wanderings in North America*, 171–2).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. John McLoughlin; Chief Factor and chief officer of Hudson's Bay Company on Pacific Coast; Scotch Canadian. On his retirement from company settled at Oregon City where he died. Edw. Ermatinger subsequently wrote of him: "a more indefatigable and enterprising man it would have been difficult to find."

<sup>5</sup> Alex. R. McLeod, Chief Trader, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver.

<sup>6</sup> David Douglas (1798–1834) botanist, sent out by London Horticultural Socy. in H. B. Co. ship in 1825. Spent several years botanizing in neighbourhood of the Company's posts. Wrote an interesting journal of his experiences.

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, a clerk and, subsequently, a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Co.; in 1825, he was clerk at Stuart Lake, B.C.; about 1832, took charge of Fort Walla Walla and remained there till his death by a fall from a horse in 1840. His body was sent to Ft. Vancouver for burial.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Annance was a clerk of the Company in the 'twenties.' In Macdonald's "Peace River," it is stated that in 1822, he was sent in from the east to procure information respecting the "heads of the Thompson and N. Branch."

<sup>9</sup> Prairie du Thé is about 28 miles from Fort Vancouver.

22nd.—Rain most of the day. Clear the Cascades Portage<sup>1</sup> by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 o'clock. Sail and paddle the rest of the day. Encamp a little below Cape Horn<sup>2</sup> at 6 p.m.

23rd.—Rainy weather. Start at 5 a.m. Breakfast below the Dalles.<sup>3</sup> Encamp above the little Dalles<sup>4</sup> (discharged part of our baggage) at 6 p.m. Saw the corpse of a woman on this Portage, lying in a hole, close to the track, which had been made for some other purpose, entirely naked, left a prey to the crows—so little are these savages actuated by decency.

24th.—Fine weather. Start at 5 a.m. Pass our Baggage and Boat and clear the Chûtes<sup>5</sup> portage by 11 a.m. The other Boat and crew return to the Fort. Hoist sail with a stiff breeze. Doctor McLoughlin and Mr. McLeod remain behind to hire horses to carry them to Walla Walla.<sup>6</sup> Encamp 3 miles above J. Day's River<sup>7</sup> at 5 p.m. having waited for the Doctor and Mr. McLeod who were unable to procure horses. They left Ouvré with Indians who had sent for horses which he was to bring up. He arrives after dark with 5 accompanied by 2 Indians.

---

<sup>1</sup> Now surmounted by a canal with locks; about 50 miles above Ft. Vancouver; total descent at high water, 45 feet; at low water, 36 feet; total length of rapids  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles. During the season of navigation, steamboats ply between Portland and the Dalles. On the completion of the Dalles locks, this will be extended upward to all ports on the lower river.

<sup>2</sup> 'Upper' Cape Horn; on south bank of the Columbia, 72 miles above Vancouver and opposite mouth of Klickitat river.

<sup>3</sup> "Dalles"—Fr. for "flagstones"—refers to the characteristic, columnar, basalt rocks through which the Columbia flows at this point. This stretch is about fourteen miles long and, at the foot, are the Dalles rapids,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and descent of about 15 feet; about 10 miles above the Dalles are the Little Dalles half mile long and, at the head, are the Celilo falls, descending 47 feet at low water. The total descent at low water is  $81\frac{1}{2}$  feet, at high water  $62\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

<sup>4</sup> "Little Dalles"; the middle portion of the rapids; about 90 miles above Ft. Vancouver.

<sup>5</sup> Celilo falls, three miles above Little Dalles. The Columbia is navigable from Celilo, at the upper end of the Dalles, to the foot of Priest rapid.

<sup>6</sup> "Walla Walla," a Hudson's Bay Co. post, known also as Fort Nez Percés; on the Columbia, at the mouth of Wallawalla river and 30 miles due west of the present city of Walla Walla, state of Washington; present Wallula Junction and post office are about one mile from site of H. B. fort. This fort was the headquarters of the Snake River district, embracing forts Walla Walla, Hall and Boisé. In 1847, it was "a small fort, built of dobies or blocks of mud baked in the sun, which is here intensely hot" (Kane, Wanderings in North America, 271).

<sup>7</sup> "John Day river"; so named after the member of the Astor overland party here robbed by Indians. (See Washington Irving's Astoria.)



Being ahead of the Indians, escorted only by Baptiste, a slave<sup>1</sup>, he was attacked by 4 others who wish to pillage him. They, however, cut them off and took their arrows away from them which Ouvré brought with him as the spoils of war. The Slave's having a gun conduced most to their safety.

Sunday 25th.—Fine weather. We are unable to agree with the Indians for the loan of their horses, therefore the gentlemen<sup>2</sup> walk by turns to lighten the boat which is insufficient to carry all the baggage and 6 passengers besides an extra man and the Indian Slave. Proceed at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5. Hoist sail with a light breeze which continues all day. Assist with the Poles and Paddles. Encamp about 6 miles below the Gros isle<sup>3</sup> at 6 p.m..

Monday 26th.—Some light rain at noon—rest of the day fine. Embark at 5 a.m. Breakfast at 10 at the tail of the larger island. Proceed to the end of it. Find Indians with horses—hire 3. Ouvré returns to our breakfast place in search of a gun left there by mistake. Encamp at 3 o'clock to wait his return.

27th.—Fine weather. Two men who went with Ouvré return early this morning and inform us that he has gone in pursuit of an Indian who had watched our departure and made off with the gun. At 8 o'clock Messrs. McLoughlin, McLeod and Ermatinger take horse and arrive at Walla Walla<sup>4</sup> at 5 p.m. The boat starts at the same time—sail wind. Encamp above the Grand Rapid.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry, writing in 1808 says: "The Blackfeet, Bloods and Piegans may be considered under one grand appellation of Slave Indians. The part of land which they call their own at present begins on a line due S. from Fort Vermillion to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan and up that stream to the foot of the Rocky mountains; then goes N. along the mountains until it strikes the N. Branch of the Saskatchewan and down that stream to Vermillion river." (Henry-Thompson Journals, V, 523-4). Other references in Henry's journal indicate that these Indian<sup>5</sup> were commonly so called by the H. B. Co. officers. Captives in other Indians' hands were also called slaves. See reference to "the Indian Slave," on 25th April. In Mr. Ermatinger's Journal of the return journey (Aug. 23) he speaks of a party of about "400 Slaves, Sourcis and other Indians" having committed depredations at Fort Carlton. Here, he, doubtless, means a band of Blackfeet, Sarcees and other Indians.

<sup>2</sup> "Gentlemen"—The officers and clerks were always so designated, to distinguish them from the boatmen and other employees of the Coy.

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Blalock island, 25 miles below the Grand rapids. It is six miles long, the western extremity being 7 miles east of the line between Benton and Klickitat counties, Wash.

<sup>4</sup> Fort Walla Walla or Nez Perces; see *ante*.

<sup>5</sup> Grand rapids; 18 miles below Fort Walla Walla and 7 miles above the mouth of Umatilla river.

28th.—The Boat arrives at Walla Walla by 11 o'clock a.m. Ouvré also arrives on foot having recovered the gun with the aid of Tomas Tippuri's<sup>1</sup> (the Walla Walla chief) wife. The Boat having been pitched and our business at this place settled, we resume our journey at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p.m. Encamp at 6 o'clock 4 or 5 miles below Lewis and Clark's river.<sup>2</sup> 1 bag of lead embarked for Spokane<sup>3</sup> from Walla Walla.

29th.—Heavy shower of rain in the evening—day fine. Start at 5 a.m. Pole all day. Encamp 8 or 9 miles up what is termed the Marle Banks<sup>4</sup> at the head of an island.

30th.—Rain nearly all day. Embark at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Encamp at 6 p.m. about 2 miles above the Marle Banks—2 geese and 1 rabbit killed to-day by the walking party.

31st.—Fine weather. Proceed at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. At 11 o'clock Mr. A. McDonald<sup>5</sup> meets us with letters from N. Caledonia informing that their people go out by the new route<sup>6</sup>. He returns with us. Proceed  $\frac{1}{2}$  way up the Priest's Rapid<sup>7</sup> and encamp at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 6 p.m.

#### April—

Sunday 1st.—Fine weather. The Boat continues her progress up the Rapids (which are very bad this year, the water being remarkably low) at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. Clear the Rapids by 11 o'clock. Proceed up the River and encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m. about 12 or 15 miles above. Hire an Indian canoe to carry some of the passengers.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Ross Cox', *Adventures*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>2</sup> The Lewis or Snake river; sometimes called Nez Perce river, also, Shahaptin river.

<sup>3</sup> Spokane House on Spokane river, 9 miles N.N.W. of Spokane at present "Nine-mile power plant."

<sup>4</sup> Banks of marl; a rich earth or clay often used as a fertilizer or for cement; called by the voyageurs, from their colour, *les Terres Jaunes*.

<sup>5</sup> Archd. McDonald, afterwards (1842) a Chief Factor; on retirement, lived at St. Andrews, Que., where his house "Glencoe," still stands. Mr. McDonald was accidentally drowned in the Ottawa while driving on the ice.

<sup>6</sup> The Yellowhead or Leather pass. Morice says: "in 1827, he [George McDougall] had accompanied the New Caledonia packet bound for the east through Tête Jaune Cache, then freshly discovered, which was to become famous in the annals of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies" (Northern British Columbia, 157).

<sup>7</sup> Priest rapid: next above the Snake river; is three miles below the northern boundary of Yakima county, Wash. So named by "David Stuart of the Pacific Fur Co. and his people, who saw at this spot, in 1811, as they were ascending the river, a number of savages, one of whom was performing on the rest certain aspersions and other ceremonies, which had the air of being coarse imitations of the Catholic worship." (Franchere's Narrative 276–7). This rapid is 10 miles long, and descends 70 feet.

2nd.—Light rain in course of the day. Start  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 a.m. Proceed as usual and encamp above Rapids a Potein<sup>1</sup> at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock.

3rd.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. Clear Isle des Portage<sup>2</sup> and take breakfast by 11 o'clock. (Hauled our Boat up without discharging; gummed). Encamp 5 miles above the Piscouhooose<sup>3</sup> River at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m. Trade a little meat and a few roots (our canoe proceeds no farther).

4th.—Fine weather. Embark at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 o'clock. Encamp a league above Clear water Creek<sup>4</sup> at 8 p.m. The gentlemen afoot found a good deal of snow on the hills to-day.

5th.—Fine weather. Resume our journey at 5 o'clock. Arrive at Okanagan<sup>5</sup> at 5 p.m.

Friday 6th.—Send off the Boat Manned by 12 men (4 being additional to return with the Doctor, etc.) and Mr. Douglas, Passenger, in order that they may pass the Dalles while the gentlemen remain behind to settle the accts. of this place.

7th.—Fine weather. At 10 o'clock Messrs. McLoughlin, McLeod and E. Ermatinger leave Okanagan on horseback in order to join the Boat at the Grosse Roche whither they arrive at 3 p.m. having met with a great deal of snow the first half of the distance on the hills. The Boat only arrives at 7 p.m. Encamp.

8th.—Fine weather. Embark at 5 a.m. Reach nearly the upper end of the Grand Coulée<sup>6</sup> and encamp at 7 p.m.

9th.—Slight rain afternoon. Start at 5 a.m. and encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m. Perrault falls sick and is unable to work.

10th.—Rain afternoon. Embark  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 o'clock. Pass the Spokane river at noon. Encamp from 12 to 15 miles above at 7 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> Corrupted to present "Port Eaton"; correctly, Paquin rapid.

<sup>2</sup> Island rapid is 15 miles upstream from the southern boundary of Kittitas co., Wash. Ross Cox calls it 'Rocky island' rapid. In his journal of the return trip, Ermatinger calls it 'Isles des Pierres' rapid.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Wenatchee river; falls into the Columbia from west, about 20 miles above the line between Chelan and Kittitas counties.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Chelan river which discharges Chelan lake, a beautiful mountain lake 45 miles long. Lyman in "The Columbia River," says that its water "forms a streak of blue cutting right across the impetuous downflow" of the Columbia.

<sup>5</sup> Fort Okanagan was founded in September, 1811, by David Stuart of the Pacific Fur Co. It was the post, through which, via Kamloops and Alexandria on the Fraser river, supplies were transported from the Columbia to the New Caledonia posts, for many years. The Fort was situated east of the confluence of Okanagan and Columbia rivers.

<sup>6</sup> Near boundary between Lincoln and Douglas counties, Wash. It is supposed to be a former bed of the Columbia, and rejoins the river near Priest rapid. Paul Kane ("Wanderings in North America," 299), describes the scenery, both of the Grand coulée and of the Columbia hereabouts as of surpassing grandeur and beauty.



Wednesday 11th.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 o'clock a.m. Pole and paddle all day. Encamp 4 miles below the Grand Rapid at 7 p.m. 4 pheasants killed to-day.

12th.—Fine weather. Proceed at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Make 2 portages on the Grande Rapide<sup>1</sup> which is extremely bad on account of the shoalness of the River. Arrive at the Kettle Falls<sup>2</sup> at noon. Leave our Boat below the Portage for the Doctor's return. Get all our baggage up to Fort Colville<sup>3</sup> by 4 p.m. Mr. Dease<sup>3</sup> only arrived yesterday from Flat Heads.<sup>4</sup>

Sunday, 15th.—Laprade arrives from Okanagan in the afternoon with Mr. McDonald's dispatches, this being his third (day) on horseback.

Tuesday, 17th.—The accounts being completed for Y<sup>5</sup> as far as circumstances permit Express Boat manned by 7 men under charge of Mr. E. Ermatinger<sup>6</sup> leaves Fort Colville in the evening. D. Douglas, Esq., Passenger. Encamp a mile from the Fort. Perrault found himself too unwell to go out<sup>7</sup> as intended, therefore Moche Otocavin takes his place as Bowsman.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Grand rapids are opposite the north boundary of the Colville Indian reserve.

<sup>2</sup>Kettle Falls; there are Upper and Lower falls and the water is divided by an island just opposite the upper fall; a deep eddy is formed at the foot of a sandy bluff, at the head of the rocky ledge extending across to the lower falls. Fort Colville was situated on the second flat or beach, about 300 yards from the river. The old bastion stood till last summer (1911) when it was burned. Steamboats run irregularly from Kettle falls to the mouth of the Okanagan. From the latter to the mouth of the Wenatchee, the steamboat is the regular means of transportation.

"The voyageurs call them the 'Chaudiere' or 'Kettle Falls' from the numerous round holes worn in the solid rocks by loose boulders. These boulders, being caught in the inequalities of the rocks below the falls, are constantly driven round by the tremendous force of the current, and wear out holes as perfectly round and smooth as in the inner surface of a cast-iron kettle" (Kane, Wanderings in North America, 308-9).

<sup>3</sup>John Warren Dease; in 1816 (or 1817) was clerk, North West Co., in charge of Rainy Lake House, when it was captured by Capt. D'Orsennons, under Lord Selkirk; probably a brother of Peter Warren Dease, the Arctic explorer. J. W. Dease signed the deed poll of 1821 as a Chief Trader, and the deed poll of 1834 as retired Chief Trader. Ross says that, in 1823, "John Warren Dease, a chief trader of the new company, arrived from Ruperts Land." Ross placed Dease in charge of fort Walla Walla.

<sup>4</sup>This may, possibly, refer to Flathead or Saleesh House, built by Thompson, for the North West Co., in the winter of 1810-11; probably refers to the Salish or Flathead Indians who, formerly, inhabited much of western Montana, centring around Flathead lake and valley. Dease was in charge of Flathead House in 1827.

<sup>5</sup>York Factory.

<sup>6</sup>Dr. McLoughlin and Mr. McLeod having turned back.

<sup>7</sup>"to go out"—i.e., to go east over the mountains to Hudson bay or lake Superior.

Wednesday, 18th.—Light snow this morning—fine weather afterwards. Proceed on our journey at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. Reach the head of the Dalles<sup>1</sup> by 3 p.m. Experienced very little difficulty in ascending them. Only required to haul up with the line at two of the strongest points. An Indian overtakes us on foot with a letter from Fort Colville. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6, 8 miles above the Dalles.<sup>2</sup>

19th.—We had a fall of snow last night—fine weather to-day. Continue our journey at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 5. Pole and paddle all day. Use the line only 3 times. Encamp a short distance below McGillivray's River.<sup>3</sup> Country very mountainous and many hills covered apparently with perpetual snow.

20th.—Hard frost in the morning—day fine. Proceed at 5 a.m. Ascend several Rapids. Enter the first Lake<sup>4</sup> at 8 o'clock and take breakfast. Afterwards hoist sail with a light breeze. Continue sailing all day and encamp at the end of the Lake at 7 p.m. An Indian comes to our camp with a few fish (Suckers and Tidubee)<sup>5</sup> and a small piece of cabris which we exchange for a piece of dried meat.

21st, Saturday.—Fine weather, but wind strong ahead. Embark at 5 a.m. Pass the narrows and continue up the River to the entrance of the 2nd lake<sup>6</sup> where we encamp at 7 a.m. Our track this day, with the exception of a short narrow of about 1 mile, may all be said to be Lake way, comparing it with what we really called the Lakes—generally

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with the Dalles on the lower Columbia nor the Dalles des Morts above. These are the Little Dalles, about three miles below the present town of Northport, Wash. and about twelve miles from the International boundary. They are "the narrowest part of the Columbia river for full one thousand miles. It is here contracted into a passage of 150 yards by lofty rocks on each side, through which it rushes with tremendous violence, forming whirlpools in its passage capable of engulfing the largest forest trees" (Kane, Wanderings in North America, 323).

<sup>2</sup> Camped above present Northport, Wash.; about 5 miles from International Boundary.

<sup>3</sup> He camped near present town of Trail, B.C., His McGillivray river is the present Kootenay river. It was named by Thompson after William McGillivray, one of the partners of the North West Co. McGillivray returned to Scotland before the union with the Hudson's Bay Co. and died *ca.* 1825. Fort William, Ont. was also named after him. The Kootenay was also called Flatbow river after the Flatbows, a band of the Blackfeet.

<sup>4</sup> Lower Arrow lake. This lake and Upper Arrow lake are expansions of the Columbia, which is navigable from Revelstoke to Trail, though steamers only ply between Robson and Arrowhead, 130 miles.

<sup>5</sup> Tullibee; a species of whitefish (*Coregonus tullibee*) of the Great lakes and the waters of the Canadian Northwest; the mongrel whitefish.

<sup>6</sup> Upper Arrow lake. Father De Smet says that these lakes are so named because "the Indians when they ascended the lakes had a custom of lodging each an arrow in the crevices of a rock on the border of the lakes."



not more than 1 mile wide. Passed several camps of Indians in course of the day and traded 7 pairs of Pas d'ours<sup>1</sup> for our journey across the mountains—gave for them 2 scalpings, 13 ball and powders, and some dried salmon. Country still mountainous and covered with snow on the hills.

Sunday, 22nd.—Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Paddle thro' the 2nd Lake. Re-enter the river at 4 p.m.—find Indians encamped here. Trade from them a little bears meat and a pair of snow shoes for ammunition and tobacco. Proceed up the River 6 or 7 miles and encamp<sup>2</sup>— $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6.

23rd.—Fine weather. Resume our journey at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 a.m.—find the River till toward evening very good and the current slack. We then enter a narrow<sup>3</sup> banked on each side by rugged rocks and ascend a succession of strong rapids<sup>4</sup> at the head of one of which we encamp, having before us a short piece of smooth current, 7 p.m. The banks of the river nearly the whole way we came to-day are still covered with deep snow as well as the woods. In the morning we saw an Indian woman and children from whom we traded about 40 Tidubee<sup>5</sup> (or a small species of white fish and suckers) for a little amm.<sup>6</sup> and dried salmon.

Tuesday, 24th.—Toward evening commences raining and continues all night. Proceed at 5 a.m. The part of the River we have this day passed is full of Rapids and strong current with occasional pieces of smooth current—in mounting the Rapids we sometimes used the Line but more frequently the poles. Encamp at a  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 7 p.m. Saw a beaver to-day, but our gun being out of order he escaped.

Wednesday, 25th.—Thick fog in the morning—fine day. Start at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 a.m. Course of the river very rapid. Take breakfast at the foot of the Rapid below the Dalles des Morts.<sup>7</sup> Carry all our baggage

---

<sup>1</sup> Snowshoes; literally, "bear's paws"; the voyageur name for snowshoes that were rounded at both ends.

<sup>2</sup> They encamped six or seven miles above the present town of Arrowhead, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> They were a short distance above Revelstoke.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Little Dalles—the third rapid of this name that he has ascended. Kane calls it the "Upper Little Dalles, a very long and rapid shoot of three or four miles."

<sup>5</sup> Tullibee.

<sup>6</sup> Ammunition.

<sup>7</sup> As its name indicates—a dangerous rapid, particularly at high water. It is 43 miles above the town of Revelstoke and about three miles above the mouth of Downie creek. Kane says that the name commemorates the death of two men, a half-breed and a French Canadian. Having lost their canoe, with all their provisions in it, in this rapid, they endeavoured to descend the river. The half-breed, fearing that his starving companions would kill him, left them and was never heard of again. The Iroquois killed the French Canadian and thus saved his own life. When rescued, his crime was discovered and he was sent to a distant post in New Caledonia. Douglas says that it takes its name from a "tragical occurrence" when nine persons out of ten, lost their lives.

at the lower brink of the Dalles—haul up our boat safe, tho' it is rather a dangerous place—clear the Dalles about noon. While here endeavoured to procure a piece of Rock Crystal, according to Dr. McLoughlin's instructions, but not knowing the exact spot where it is said to be were unable to find any. Probably the great quantity of snow on many parts of the banks of the River concealed it from our view. River becomes more rapidous<sup>1</sup> as we ascend. Encamp about 7 or 8 miles above Dalles des Morts at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m.

Thursday, 26th.—Fine weather. Proceed at 5 a.m. Ascend many rapids. Breakfast above the Rapids Croches.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards less frequent. Pass several pieces of smooth current. Country very mountainous—snow deep. Encamp at the head of a small rapid at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m.

Friday, 27th.—Sharp frost in the morning—fine day. Proceed at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 5 a.m. and arrive at the Boat Encampment<sup>3</sup> between 11 and 12 o'clock. The most part of the distance we made up the river this day the current was strong but smooth with several steep Rapids. The remainder of the day we occupied in preparing our baggage for the journey across the mountains. The paper trunk<sup>4</sup> (which is very heavy, say upwards of 70 lbs.) is to be carried by 3 men alternately together with their provs. and private baggage. Our other baggage is divided among the remaining four men.

Owing to the liberality of the gentlemen by whose posts we passed along the communication we were enabled nearly every night since we left Fort Vancouver to treat ourselves with potatoes at supper and finished the remains of our stock from Fort Colville to-day, probably the first ever eaten at this place. Fruits of attention to gardening.

Our tent being dry, strike and pack it up—dry the main line<sup>5</sup> as well as we can first by the sun and afterwards by the fire. Take an acct. of everything to be left en cache; kill 1 goose.

<sup>1</sup> A curious locution.

<sup>2</sup> May be present La Porte rapid. Kane (p. 335) says that, about 1843, a boat containing twenty-two persons filled with water when descending it. Fourteen people, including a "gentleman sent into the interior for botanical research" and his bride were drowned. The steersman's daughter, ten years old, was saved. When the boat turned bottom upwards, she was "jammed in amongst the luggage and supported by the small quantity of air which had been caught in the boat when it turned over." Ross says that rapide Croche is about 15 miles above what he calls Ross river, the Goldstream river of modern maps.

<sup>3</sup> "Boat Encampment"; at the most northerly part of the Columbia at the "Big bend" where, after flowing northerly, it commences its southerly course. David Thompson wintered there from Jan. 22—April 17, 1811. On April 17, in a canoe, he started up the Columbia. Canoe river, which falls in at this point and "Boat Encampment" commemorate the construction of his canoe and his winter camp.

<sup>4</sup> Containing papers such as despatches, accounts, letters, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the line used in 'tracking' the canoes upstream.



Saturday, 28th.—Morning sharp frost, day fine and warm. People commence arranging and strapping their loads at 4 p.m. Cross over the property to be left and put it en cache. Return and haul up the boat and then start about 7 o'clock—course easterly. Our road lies first thro' woods and swamps along the banks of the river<sup>1</sup> and then we cross the 1st point of woods and encamp having travelled about 9 miles. We found in the woods snow knee deep occasionally which caused us to put on our Pas d'ours. Two of our Iroquois who would not have carried snow shoes from the Boat Encampment, had I not insisted upon them having them, now found them very useful and were glad to put them on. A wolverine hovers about our camp and Mr. Douglas wounds him, but he escapes.

Sunday, 29th.—Fine clear weather. Resume our journey at 4 a.m. Our track commences on the Battures<sup>2</sup> over which we travel about 10 miles, having forded the Columbia<sup>3</sup> main stream in that space 13 times, the depth of water never exceeding 3 feet. Enter the 2nd Point of Woods about 9 o'clock and travel near 3 miles and encamp at noon, the snow having become too soft for us to continue further this day. The road thro' these woods is very bad and difficult to be found not being distinctly marked as was the case in the point we passed yesterday. This causes much additional labour to the people and often leads them out of their way not one of them knowing the road properly. If the person returning with the horses in the fall and best acquainted with the proper track were desired to mark the trees sufficiently high not to be hidden by the snow it would be a great relief to the people going out in the spring. The snow shoes or Pas d'ours we traded from the Indians are very bad and too small and break often. I would therefore suggest that in future a sufficiency for the Express people might be made at Fort Colville, a little larger than the 2 pairs we got from there this spring, as it would render the travelling much easier and prevent the uncertainty of obtaining them from Indians. See geese—kill a partridge.

Monday, 30th.—Sharp frost in the morning—fine day. Course north—start at 4 a.m. Continue thro' the woods about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile and fall upon the river then travel upon the battures about 9 miles having forded the main stream 7 times and arrive at the foot of the Grand Cote<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> He is now ascending Wood river, apparently so named after the dense forest traversed by the portage road up its valley.

<sup>2</sup> In the Rockies, wherever the bottom of the valley widens sufficiently to permit, the stream spreads out in numerous channels through the sand and gravel bars. These 'bottoms' were called 'battures' by the voyageurs.

<sup>3</sup> A clerical error for Wood river.

<sup>4</sup> From Boat Encampment to this point a distance of 22 miles, the ascent is comparatively easy; total rise about 1,000 feet. He has now reached the foot of the long steep ascent of 3,000 feet in 7 or 8 miles to the summit of Athabaska pass.

at 8 o'clock. Ascend it for about 2 miles and encamp at 11 a.m. Experienced some difficulty in finding the proper track.

*May—*

Tuesday, 1st.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Snow not less than between 4 and 5 feet deep. Continue to ascend the Grand Cote by very short stages for about 2 miles till we meet the Rocky Hills on the right at 8 a.m. when we incline to the left a little and having journeyed I should say between 3 and 4 miles encamp nearly a mile on this side of the height of land<sup>1</sup> at noon. We experienced again much difficulty in finding and keeping our road. In fact we could not ascend 50 yards before the people were wandering in every direction in search of the track. What few marks have been made to point out the way I conceive are concealed by the depth of snow. Kill a partridge.

Wednesday, 2nd.—Fine weather. Resume our journey at 3 a.m. in order to avail ourselves of the crust on the snow. Course north east. Travel at a good pace for about 17 miles<sup>2</sup> and stop at 11 a.m. to breakfast and give the people a rest during the heat of the day. Two-thirds of the distance across the grand batture.<sup>3</sup> Hang up our snow shoes on a tree, there appearing no need of them further. Since passing the height of land the snow has very rapidly diminished. At our last encampment it was 5 feet deep and here there is only a little remaining on the ice on the banks of the River. What is left still smoothes our road which passes often over rough rocks. We however had to use our snow shoes occasionally thro' the small points of woods. Being here informed by the people that it is customary to send somebody ahead to meet the man with the horses and advertize him of our approach I send off Roy light for that purpose. Make a fresh start ourselves at 2 p.m. and continue over Battures and thro' woods and swamps between 6 and 7 miles and encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6. One of the swamps entirely frozen over. Traversed the Atha<sup>a</sup> river<sup>4</sup> 6 times to-day, twice knee deep; current strong. We went out of our road a little in the last part of the day's march and got into very bad woods. Roy returns after dark to our camp on horseback having found J. Cardinale at Campment d'Orignal with 9 horses. Send him back on foot to desire Cardinale to bring up the horses as soon as possible in the morning.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The summit of the Athabaska pass; at an elevation of 6,025 feet. As the Boat Encampment is about 2,000 feet above sea-level, he has ascended 4,000 feet.

<sup>2</sup> He is now descending Whirlpool river, a branch of the Athabaska.

<sup>3</sup> He is travelling on the gravel bars of Whirlpool river, except where forced by the water to take to the woods.

<sup>4</sup> He has now passed the confluence of the Athabaska and Whirlpool rivers and is descending the former.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas' account of the journey was published in the Companion to the Botanical Magazine. As it is very rare, the portion relating to the journey from Boat Encampment to the Athabaska is reprinted on page 128 *et seq.*



Thursday, 3rd.—Fine warm weather. Load the horse Roy brought last night and proceed forward with the rest of our baggage at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3. a.m. Shortly after meet Jacquan<sup>1</sup> with 3 more horses. Arrive at Campment d'Orignal at 7 o'clock having travelled 5 miles thro' very bad woods. Breakfast. Understanding that there is a canoe at the Grand traverse which is likely to be wanted below, send off 3 men to repair and take it down to the end of the Portage. Then having loaded 2 horses with our baggage, give the rest for the men to mount and continue our journey at 8 a.m. Ford the Grand traverse about noon. Proceed to Camp<sup>t</sup>. des Vaches<sup>2</sup> where arrive about 3 p.m. The greatest part of the road hither lies thro' thick woods much encumbered with fallen wood. Ice and snow thick on the banks of the River. Terminate our journey across the mountains at 6 p.m.<sup>3</sup> The canoe arrives before us. The men are employed repairing another which we find here, in order to proceed to Jasper's House<sup>4</sup> to-morrow morning.

Friday, 4th.—Fine weather. It being necessary to take down both the canoes, I divide the men including Jacques, who leaves his horses here for the present, 4 into each and embark at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Arrive at the 2nd Lake where Jasper's House stands. We are regaled here with some most excellent white fish. The freemen<sup>5</sup> not having arrived I am unable to explain and arrange their accts. for them according to C. F. Rowand's<sup>6</sup> request, my instructions not authorizing me to make any further delay. However in case the Iroquois should come, I intend leaving Mr. Rowand's 2 men at this place and 1 of the Columbia men with a canoe to wait here 4 days, as I am informed they have near 300 Beaver<sup>7</sup> which it is desirable should be taken out.

Saturday, 5th.—Fine warm weather. Embark with 6 men and old Paget a freeman at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. taking with us all the furs at this place,

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Jacques' Cardinal. See preceding page where called 'Cardinale,' and p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Buffalo prairie. Hector (Journals of the Palliser Expedition, 128) calls it Prairie des Vaches. It is about halfway between the junction of the Miette, at the town of Fitzhugh, and the mouth of Whirlpool river. See p. 109

<sup>3</sup> They had arrived at, or near, the site of the town of Fitzhugh. At this point, the Yellowhead Pass valley joins the Athabaska valley.

<sup>4</sup> Jasper House was a H. B. Co. post at the outlet of Jasper lake, an expansion of the Athabaska river. In 1859, it consisted of a little group of dwellings, "constructed in keeping with their picturesque situation, after the Swiss style, with overhanging roofs and trellised porticos."

<sup>5</sup> Men whose term of service with the H. B. Company had expired. They were independent trappers, trading with the Company.

<sup>6</sup> John Rowand, Chief Factor (1825), Hudson's Bay Co. On Aug. 13, 1845, he arrived at Norway House in charge of the brigade of boats from York Factory with the outfit of goods for the interior trade. See p. 121

<sup>7</sup> i.e. beaver-skins.



say 7 Packtons<sup>1</sup>. Stop  $\frac{3}{4}$  hour to breakfast. Afterwards I do<sup>2</sup> to gum our canoe. Encamp at 7 p.m. A great deal of ice along the banks of the River.

Sunday, 6th.—do do. Start  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 5 a.m. At 10 o'clock come up with Mr. McDougal<sup>3</sup> and 4 men from N. Caledonia<sup>4</sup> who have been following the ice these 9 days past from Jasper's House. Remain here 3 or 4 hours and proceed again 6 or 7 miles, the ice having given way so far. Mr. McDougal gets a bark canoe, left here by Mr. F. McDonald<sup>5</sup> last fall, repaired to take down in place of a skin one which he brought from Jasper's House.

Monday, 7th.—Fine warm weather. Make an attempt to continue our journey but are soon stopt. However after breakfast having observed that by making a short portage we should gain a clear channel we again embark and succeed. Afterwards having occasion to put ashore and speak to some Indians about a boat left somewhere hereabouts by Mr. F. McDonald last fall we are overtaken by an immense quantity of loose floating ice which detains us ashore above an hour till it is passed. We then make a fresh start and meet with no further impediment. As to the boat we find that it is a good distance above us in one of the channels blocked by ice when we passed which prevented us from seeing it. Arrive at Fort Assiniboine<sup>6</sup> at 8 p.m. and learn that this Post has not provisions enough to furnish our men a meal—the want of which was one reason for my not delaying longer to endeavour to get down the Boat.

<sup>1</sup> Pacton; French-Canadian word for 'bundle,' particularly one made up for portaging—with a carrying strap or 'tump line.'

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* one ditto (hour).

<sup>3</sup> George McDougall; in charge of Fort Alexandria on Fraser river; left Stuart lake March 18, left Fort George on 24th, left Tête Jaune Cache, April 1 and reached Jasper House April 18; was at Fort Vermilion on Peace River in the summer of 1815; came from Fraser lake to Stuart lake, Feb. 28, 1819.

<sup>4</sup> New Caledonia, the portion of present British Columbia, between 50° 30' N. and 57° N., approximately.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly "Finan or Finnan McDonald, clerk, North West Co.; was with Thompson at various places on the upper Saskatchewan, in the Rocky mountains and on headwaters of Columbia, 1806-12" (Coues, Henry and Thompson Journals I, 279).

<sup>6</sup> As fort Assiniboine was abandoned over a quarter century ago it is not shown on present day maps. It was situated on the Athabaska river 75 miles northwest of Edmonton and was at the north end of the main trail from Edmonton. In 1859, it consisted "merely of a few ruinous log huts on the left bank built on a beautiful level prairie several miles in extent and elevated 30 feet above the river" (Hector, Journals of Palliser Expedition).

Tuesday, 8th.—Fine warm weather. As J. Stuart, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> has not yet arrived from L. S. Lake<sup>2</sup> from whom alone we can expect a supply of provisions to put us to Edmonton and also having been given to understand by Mr. Harriott<sup>3</sup> that that gentleman required a few more men to expedite his arrival, I determined on remaining here with the Express while the Columbia men in conjunction with those of N. Caledonia should go down and assist him up with his craft. Accordingly, Mr. McDougal with 9 men in one canoe embarks for that purpose this morning. D. Douglas, Esq., Passenger.

Wednesday, 9th.—Fine warm weather. The three men left above and Nipissingue<sup>4</sup> whom Mr. Rowand requested from Jasper's<sup>5</sup> to act as guide for people going with Leather<sup>6</sup> arrive this afternoon, but without the Iroquois's<sup>7</sup> Beaver<sup>8</sup> one having come in and informed that they were unable to bring them the distance is so great and so much snow.

Tuesday, 10th.—Thick snow all day—no arrivals.

Friday, 11th.—Snowing all day. Bastonois<sup>9</sup> treats his comrades with a dog.

Saturday, 12th.—Light snow in the morning. Clears up before noon. Snow mostly disappears.

Sunday, 13th.—Fine weather. In the evening J. Stuart, Esq., &c. arrives with 3 canoes.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Stuart, while a clerk in the North West Co., accompanied Simon Fraser in his exploration of Fraser river, 1808; was made a Chief Factor in 1821, on coalition of H. B. Co. with N. W. Co. Stuart lake and river, in northern British Columbia are named after him. He was superintendent of New Caledonia district 1806–24; in December, 1826, was in charge of Lesser Slave lake post; in 1832–33, in command of McKenzie River district; died at Forres, Scotland in 1846; was maternal uncle of Lord Strathcona (Morice, Northern British Columbia).

<sup>2</sup> Lesser Slave lake.

<sup>3</sup> John E. Harriott became a Chief Factor in 1846; probably the Mr. Harriott referred to. In 1847 he was in charge of Fort Edmonton.

<sup>4</sup> A Nipissing Indian; *i.e.* one of the Nipissing tribe residing near lake Nipissing, Ont. The Iroquois and Nipissings were taken to the West by the North West Co. They were expert canoemen and trappers.

<sup>5</sup> Jasper House.

<sup>6</sup> Dressed moose or caribou skins were scarce in New Caledonia, and were now sent west *via* Leather (or Yellowhead) pass, hence the former name.

<sup>7</sup> Iroquois free trappers who had served their time with the Company. In the vicinity of Jasper House, they formed quite a little settlement of their own.

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* the skins of beaver that he had trapped.

<sup>9</sup> Bastonnais, the name applied by the Indians of Quebec to citizens of the United States; literally, 'Boston-man.' The prominence of Boston in the early history of the United States led to its name being used for "American" on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coast. In Chinook, 'American' is *Boston man*; in Micmac, it is *Bostonkawaach*.



Monday, 14th.—Fine weather. Take our departure from Assiniboine<sup>1</sup> about 4 o'clock with 56 horses and men, part of the horses only being loaded. Proceed thro' the woods between 4 and 5 miles and encamp at a small creek. Many deep mires. Horses very poor and weak.

Thursday, 15th.—Weather rather overcast. Start at 7 a.m. Breakfast at the Rivière Creuse.<sup>2</sup> Road to it very bad full of mires—ascend several hills. Several horses remain behind unable to come farther light. Men sent back to endeavour to bring them up—report one to be dead. Mr. McDougal with a man goes ahead to Edmonton to inform of the state of the horses &c. Proceed again having rested the horses 5 hours and encamp at Les Deux Rivières.<sup>3</sup> Distance of to-days' journeys between 10 and 12 miles. Killed 2 geese and 2 ducks.

Wednesday, 16th.—Morning fine—towards evening several claps of thunder. Shower of hail and successive showers of rain. Start between 7 and 8 a.m. Proceed thro' thick woods.<sup>4</sup> Swamps—about 8 miles and take breakfast at first prairie. Afterwards continue for near 5 miles and encamp in the woods across the 2nd prairie. Our road the whole of this day has been thro' one continued mire—several horses too weak to come up with the rest, tho' light. Two men return to bring them up but are unable.

Thursday, 17th.—Fine morning. Start 6 a.m. Proceed 1½ mile and arrive at the Paddle River<sup>5</sup>—make a raft and get our baggage across in about 3 hours—afterwards go on 3 miles and stop to breakfast. Detained here several hours by rain. Again continue 7 miles and arrive at the Pembina River.<sup>6</sup> The road from Paddle River lies along the borders of small lakes, thro' swamps and woods—the track thro' the latter being in some cases extremely bad—much fallen wood and deep mires.

Friday, 18th.—Fine morning. Mr. Stuart's craft not having yet arrived, people set about making 3 rafts. These being made cross over all the property and load 20 horses therewith. Proceed to Lac la

---

<sup>1</sup> Fort Assiniboine.

<sup>2</sup> An error for *cruche*. Pitcher (or Cruche) creek falls into Two Creeks about 15 miles, by trail, from fort Assiniboine.

<sup>3</sup> Near the source of Two Creeks and about 25 miles from fort Assiniboine.

<sup>4</sup> Respecting this area, Hector notes on his map, "splendid forest of birch and other trees."

<sup>5</sup> A tributary of the Pembina river.

<sup>6</sup> The Pembina is the most southerly prairie stream whose waters flow to the Arctic ocean.

Nane<sup>1</sup>—distance 5 or 6 miles.<sup>2</sup> Set a net. Two men also repair a weir already made in the River. Find here Cardinale,<sup>3</sup> a freeman, and family with several tents of Indians. Mr. Stuart<sup>4</sup> remains at Pembina with the rest of the horses to wait his people.

Saturday, 19th.—Fine warm weather. Our net last night yielded 60 carp and the weir 30 carp and pike—9 horses are returned to assist Mr. Stuart in bringing forward his pieces. Afterwards 3 men sent off to clear the road ahead of fallen wood and also to make a wear<sup>5</sup> at Berland's Lake<sup>6</sup> to supply fish on our arrival.

Sunday, 20th.—Fine warm weather. Our fishing yield about the same quantity as last night. A man arrives from Mr. Stuart with letters. The craft were about to arrive when he left. Mr. S. had gone down to meet them on a raft. Having collected all the carp we are able for our voyage we take our departure hence with 13 loaded horses. Travel about 8 miles thro' woods occasionally very bad road and encamp. One of the horses is unable to bring up his load. The men carry it.

Monday, 21st.—Fine weather. Start at 5 a.m. Mr. Douglas<sup>7</sup> with one man goes ahead to reach the Fort to-day. Near Berland's Lake we meet 5 men with 22 horses from Edmonton—take 2 saddle horses for Messrs. E. Harriot and Ermatinger. Send the rest forward to meet Mr. Stuart. Take breakfast at Berland's Creek.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards proceed to the large scaffold and encamp. Our route to Berland's Lake was for the greater part bad in the extreme—thro' thick woods full of deep mires—thence the road takes thro' the plains and is pretty good. Distance say to the Lake 12 miles and to the encampment 8 or 9 do.

Tuesday, 22nd.—Fine warm weather. Proceed at 4 a.m. reach the Sturgeon River<sup>9</sup> about 10 o'clock with the strongest of the horses. Others do not arrive till 2 o'clock—occupy our time till 3 p.m. rafting our property across—afterwards resume our journey and arrive at

---

<sup>1</sup> Lac la Nonne or Nun lake; about 40 miles north-west of Edmonton; is now the centre of a flourishing settlement.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from Pembina river.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Cardinal.

<sup>4</sup> John Stuart, see *ante*.

<sup>5</sup> Weir.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the lake now known as Sandy lake in Tps. 55 and 56, R. I, West of 5th meridian. See p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> David Douglas, the botanist.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the stream from present Sandy lake to Sturgeon river in Tp. 55, R. I, W. of 5th meridian.

<sup>9</sup> The trail crossed the Sturgeon river a short distance below the present settlement of St. Albert.

Edmonton<sup>1</sup> at 7 p.m. 5 men remain behind at the river their horses being too fatigued to proceed—roads thro' the plains often bad thro' swamps and mires—distance to Sturgeon River from our encampment about 16 miles thence to the Fort 9 miles.

Wednesday, 23rd.—Fine warm weather—6 boats receive their cargoes in order to be off to-morrow morning.

Thursday, 24th.—do. Boats start this morning—afternoon Mr. Stuart and party arrive.

Friday, 25th.—do—8 boats more receive their loading.

Saturday, 26th.—do. The boats leave Edmonton at 9 a.m. Passengers C. F. Stuart, & Rowand, Messrs. Douglas, McDonald, Harriott, McDougall and E. E. Manned Mr. Stuart's boat 5 men, Mr. R.'s 4 and the rest 3 each. Proceed till 8 p.m. and encamp, distance 50 miles.

27th, Sunday.—Strong head wind. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 a.m. Saw some Crees from whom a few Beaver &c. are traded—detained afternoon 2 hours for one of the Boats unable to keep up. Mr. McDonald kills a red deer—put ashore at 8 p.m. to cook—afterwards lash the boats together and drive all night.

Monday, 28th.—Head wind—begin to row at sunrise. Breakfast at the old Fort George.<sup>2</sup> In the evening put ashore at Vermillion Creek.<sup>3</sup> People go off in chase of Red Deer—kill a cabris. After stopping about 2 hours start again and proceed a short distance to an Island where we stop to supper. No signs of the other six boats—supposed we passed them in the night as they had orders not to proceed farther than Dog Rump Creek.<sup>4</sup> Make a large fire for signal. Embark again to drift all night.

Tuesday, 29th.—Fine weather. Wind ahead. Continue rowing from daylight till sunset, at intervals, and then put ashore to supper—after which go little below to sleep. See Red Deer several times—3 are killed.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly "Old" Fort Augustus, also, sometimes, called Fort des Prairies. It was built in 1795, for the N. W. Co. by James Hughes; about 1859, was a large oblong, palisaded structure with bastions. The new Provincial Parliament building has been constructed within the limits of the old fort.

<sup>2</sup> Fort George was built by Angus Shaw in the autumn of 1792, and abandoned in 1801. It was one of several Saskatchewan posts to which the name of "Fort des Prairies" attached and was a place of importance. It stood on the north bank about on the line between ranges V and VI, W. of the 4th meridian, Tp. 56 (Coues, Henry and Thompson Journals).

<sup>3</sup> Vermilion river, a tributary of the North Saskatchewan from the south; falls in in Range III, W. of the 4th meridian, about 35 miles N.N.W. of Lloydminster.

<sup>4</sup> Now called Dog creek; falls in from the north, three miles below Hopkins P.O. in R. VII, W. of 4th Mer., Tp. 56.



Wednesday, 30th.—Wind still ahead. Start at sunrise. Do not proceed far when we see 5 buffalo crossing the river, pursue them and kill two—people go hunting on both sides of the River. On each side they kill two bulls<sup>1</sup>—fetching home the meat occupies the rest of the men till night. Push off and go to sleep at Island out of sight of our fires.

Thursday, 31st.—Wind still easterly. Proceed down the River a few miles till we come up to two of our men who have been absent hunting since yesterday morning. They have each killed a Bull—16 men set off immediately to bring home the meat—men return with 1½ animals, the rest having been consumed by wolves—continue again a short distance and put ashore where animals appear to be numerous. People go off hunting—return afternoon having killed 11 Bulls—all hands employed carrying the meat to the boats—1 too lean—thrown away. Encamp.

#### *June—*

Friday, 1st.—Fine weather. Wind strong ahead. Early this morning some of the men employed bringing down the remainder of the animals killed yesterday. Also 5 more Bulls killed by Salois—and afterwards we procured 2 cows and 2 Bulls—proceed down 2 or 3 miles and encamp.

Saturday, 2nd.—Make an early start and proceed till near noon. See many herds of Buffalo. Hunters go off in pursuit—Mr. Harriott kills 2, Salois one—men fetch the meat. Continue our journey having been here 4 or 5 hours—in the evening more animals in sight. Mr. H. goes off and kills 2 Bulls—a very serious accident attends the evening's hunting. Mr. H. having wounded two other Bulls goes off with a view of getting them accompanied by Messrs. F. McDonald and E. E.<sup>2</sup> On approaching them they made off. Mr. H. pursued and overtook one, followed by Mr. McD.—the former fired but did not bring the Bull down. Mr. McD.'s rifle snapped and while he was endeavouring to distinguish his object in the dark of the night to have another shot the animal rushed toward him with the utmost impetuosity. Mr. McD. as soon as he perceived him, which was not till he was very close, tried to escape by running across a small plain to shelter himself as it appeared to him in a hammock of woods, but before he reached it he became out of breath and threw himself down trusting to fate. The first blow the animal gave him he tossed him with great violence and gored the most fleshy part of the thigh nearly to the bone. Mr. McD., after this seized him by the wool of the head and held him for some time, but the

---

<sup>1</sup> Buffalo bulls.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ermatinger.

immense power of the animal obliged him to quit his hold—on doing this, he supposes, he dislocated his wrist. He remembers having received 6 blows, one of which was so dreadful that his whole side is bruised black and blue and some of his ribs appear to be broken—the last furious butt made him call out, and what is very strange the Bull at the same instant fell down as if a ball had struck him. In this state they both remained for above an hour while Mr. H. ran to the Boats at least 2 miles distant for assistance, Mr. E. remaining near the spot to point it out, for altho' these two gentlemen heard and saw as far as the darkness of the night permitted the whole of this distressing affair, they were unable to render immediate relief, lest in firing at the Bull they might kill the man. A large armed party being collected were devising means of extricating Mr. McD. from his painful situation, when one of the men's guns went off in the air by accident. This caused the Bull to rise. He looked at the party attentively for a moment and then galloped off. Mr. McD. whom they found perfectly sensible altho' he had fainted several times as he himself says, also states that the Bull watched him the whole time they lay together and that he durst not stir. The animal too he says appeared to suffer much groaning and vomiting blood a great deal. The ground around bore evident marks of this deplorable catastrophe, being gored up in many places and covered with blood—a shot pouch which Mr. McD. wore at his left side, made of thick sealskin, covered with porcupine quills and stuffed with rags, &c, for wadding was found to be pierced thro' and thro' and must have saved his life, altho' he was not aware when this happened. He was conveyed upon blankets fastened upon poles on the men's shoulders to the Boat and in order to reach Carlton<sup>1</sup> as soon as possible, we drift down the river all night in hopes of finding Dr. Richardson<sup>2</sup> at that place. His wounds were dressed as well as the means of the party permitted.<sup>3</sup>

Sunday, 3rd.—Overcast with light rain. Commence rowing at daylight and continue till breakfast. Afterwards hoist sail with a light breeze which freshens and carries us till we pass the Elbow.<sup>4</sup> Our course North, wind ahead—row till 9 p.m. Encamp.

---

<sup>1</sup> Fort Carlton. Douglas says that he here met Thos. Drummond, Asst.-Naturalist to the Franklin expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. (afterwards, Sir John) Richardson (1787–1865) Surgeon and Naturalist in Sir John Franklin's two Arctic land expeditions, 1819–22 and 1825–27. On June 18, 1827, Franklin met him at Cumberland House "after a separation of eleven months." Evidently Richardson had so recently passed down the North Saskatchewan that Ermatinger hoped to find him at Carlton. Ermatinger's diary however, shows that he had left Carlton on May 21st.

<sup>3</sup> Douglas says: "I bound up his wounds, and gave him all the aid that a small medicine chest and my slender knowledge of surgery would suggest.

<sup>4</sup> Near the Canadian Northern Railway bridge on its main line and five miles southeast of Borden station.



Monday, 4th.—Overcast and cold—light rain. Continue at daylight—the 6 boats which left Edmonton on the 24th overtake us at breakfast. Arrive at Carlton afternoon. People set about making Pemican, &c.

Tuesday, 5th.—Rain most part of the day. Dr. Richardson having quitted Carlton on the 21st ultimo, in order that Mr. McDonald may get surgical aid as soon as possible, a boat manned by 5 men is dispatched with him to Cumberland<sup>1</sup> accompanied by Mr. McDougal, this afternoon. The other boats afterwards receive an addition to their cargoes from the returns of this place and 8 of them depart in the evening.

Wednesday, 6th.—Fine weather, very warm. The other 5 boats start at 2 a.m. See some Crees and freemen from whom we gather a few skins. Stop to supper a little below the South Branch.<sup>2</sup> We hoisted sail once to-day, but this rather caused delay than advance the wind dying away almost immediately—run down part of Cole's rapids<sup>3</sup> by moonlight it being 9 o'clock when we stopt to supper—lash the boats together and drive—current very strong.

Thursday, 7th.—Fine warm weather. We are alarmed in the night by 2 of our boats having run foul of a large stone, but no other damage was received than the breaking of one rib in her upper works. See more Indians this morning from whom we get some skins. Overtake all the Boats afternoon. Stop to cook below Thoburn's Rapid.<sup>4</sup> Drift all night.

Friday, 8th.—Fine warm weather. Wind N.W. strong ahead. Commence rowing at sunrise—arrive at Cumberland<sup>5</sup> about 7 p.m. with 9 boats, 4 others having taken a wrong channel do not come up with us. Mr. McDonald arrived this morning.

Saturday, 9th.—Fine weather. Remain here all day—reloading and waiting the other boats.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland House; on Cumberland (or Pine Island) lake, Range II, W. of 2nd Meridian, Tp. 57. This, the first Hudson's Bay Company's post in the prairie country, was built in 1774, by Hearne, the famous explorer of the "Barren Lands" and of the Coppermine river.

<sup>2</sup> South Saskatchewan river. An error, as he says that he did not reach Cole rapids till after dark. On August 19th, on return trip, he states that they reached Cole rapids 9 hours after they passed the South Saskatchewan.

<sup>3</sup> Cole rapids, ten miles above the confluence with the South Saskatchewan. A hydro-electric development here to supply electrical energy to the city of Prince Albert has been proposed. Probably after Cole, a fur-trader referred to by David Thompson in his "journals".

<sup>4</sup> Usually, though incorrectly, designated Tobin rapid, in tp. 54, range X, W. of the 2nd mer. Thorburn, a fur-trader, had a house near here in Thompson's time.

<sup>5</sup> Cumberland House.



Sunday, 10th.—Overcast—wind strong ahead. Leave Cumberland at 5 a.m. Continue pulling all day. Encamp at 8 p.m.

Monday, 11th.—Rain all last night. Ceases about 7 a.m. Start at 5 o'clock. Breakfast at the Pas.<sup>1</sup> Find several freemen here. Receive.....<sup>2</sup> from them. Continue till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 p.m. and encamp at Muddy Lake.<sup>3</sup> Find our other boats here. Leave one.

Tuesday, 12th.—Hoist sail with a fair wind at 3 a.m., breeze freshens, reach the lower end of Cedar Lake<sup>4</sup> by 1 o'clock, breakfast—resume at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past two. Proceed thro' narrows and across Cross Lake<sup>5</sup>—then down the River to the Grand Rapids.<sup>6</sup> Boats run down full cargoes. One breaks upon the rocks. Cargo wet. Find J. Spencer,<sup>7</sup> Esq., encamped at the lower end, with 2 boats. He has been detained here 9 days—the ice in Lake Winnipeg not permitting him to proceed. Encamp. Set a net.

Wednesday, 13th.—Fine weather. Wind Easterly. Mr Spencer sets off with his two boats early this morning. People employed here unpacking and drying furs—procure 25 sturgeon, part traded from Indians and part killed by our men.

Thursday, 14th.—The weather became very boisterous during last night. We had thunder and lightening with very heavy rain which continues all this morning, latterly it turned to snow. Wind N. W. blowing very hard. Obtain from Indians 15<sup>00</sup> Sturgeon and 2 of our Iroquois killed 5. In the evening the wind having moderated, we push off at 9 p.m. and row in the Lake<sup>8</sup> all night—pass several times thro' loose floating ice.

<sup>1</sup> An outpost of Cumberland district, below Saskeram lake at mouth of Pasquia river; the present terminus of a branch of the Canadian Northern Railway and the initial point of the Canadian Government railway to Hudson bay.

<sup>2</sup> Undecipherable.

<sup>3</sup> An expansion of the Saskatchewan, a few miles above Cedar lake.

<sup>4</sup> An expansion of the Saskatchewan, 30 miles long and 15 miles wide. So called because there is a forest of cedars at this point, the only one north of the southern portion of lake Winnipeg. The cedar is found on the ridge between Cedar and Winnipegosis lakes extending thence eastward toward Long joint in Lake Winnipeg.

<sup>5</sup> Cross lake is also an expansion of the Saskatchewan; so called because its greatest dimension is from north to south and it, therefore, is "crossed" by the canoe route instead of being traversed from end to end.

<sup>6</sup> Near the mouth of the Saskatchewan; the river falls 71 feet in five miles, most of which is concentrated in the middle two miles. In these two miles the river has cut a deep, narrow gorge in the limestone. The Hudson's Bay Co. has constructed a tramway here to facilitate the transport of goods and furs.

<sup>7</sup> John Spencer; he signed the deed poll of 1821 as a Chief Trader; in 1834, he was a retired C.T.

<sup>8</sup> Lake Winnipeg.

Friday, 15th.—Fine weather. Wind E.S.E. hoist sail—put ashore 1 hour to breakfast—pass the . . . . . islands. About 3 p.m. begins to blow very hard. Obligated to make shore. Land with 4 Boats a short distance on this side the steep banks—flat gravelly beach. Experience some difficulty in landing our cargoes dry—very few packs get wet. The other Boats keep out and hold their course to Mossy Point<sup>1</sup>—soon lose sight of them.

Saturday, 16th.—Fine weather. Being calm this morning, begin to load our Boats before 3 o'clock a.m. and start at 4. Fair wind springs up—hoist sail. At the steep banks find Mr. Spencer who had driven ashore yesterday in the gale. One of his boats was dashed so violently against the shore that it is broken useless—abandon it. Load the other and put the cargo of the other amongst our Boats and proceed. Arrive at Norway House, old establishment at<sup>2</sup> Noon. All the other Boats here safe. Breakfast. Resume at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 p.m. with 3 boats, leaving the remainder here to dry some which have got wet. Reach the New Establishment at the foot of Jack River at 10 p.m.

Sunday, 17th.—Fine weather. Governor Simpson<sup>3</sup> arrives at 5 a.m. The rest of the Saskatchewan Boats arrive shortly after.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A long point separating Playgreen lake from lake Winnipeg.

<sup>2</sup> The old fort was on the west side of the outlet of lake Winnipeg, opposite Mossy point; the new fort is 25 miles below, on a channel of Nelson river. It was named after Norway point, which so called because "buildings were first erected here by a party of Norwegians, who were driven away from the colony at Red river, by the commotions which took place some time ago" (Franklin, First Journey, 43). Back, writing in 1833, says: The Company has been obliged to change the situation of Old Norway House, on the opposite side, owing to the rapidly progressive advance of the water there. In fact it has so undermined and washed away the banks as to have arrived within a few feet of a building, the distance of which from the lake in 1819 was upwards of three hundred yards." (Arctic Expedition, 32).

After the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in 1821, Norway House became the American headquarters and Fort William was allowed to fall into disrepair. There, Sir Geo. Simpson, "in conjunction with a few tried Chief Factors forming a sort of legislative assembly and executive council combined, used to direct the affairs of this vast corporation." (Morice, Northern Interior of British Columbia, 121).

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Simpson (1792–1860) Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, 1822–60; knighted, 1839; made a journey round the world in 1841–42; it was said that, under him, the North West was 'ruled with a rod of iron.' (For a description of the Governor's journey to New Caledonia in 1828, see Archibald McDonald, "Peace River; a Canoe Voyage from Hudson Bay to the Pacific.")

<sup>4</sup> A few days later, Capt. Franklin arrived. He offered Douglas a passage to the mouth of the Winnipeg River in his canoe which he "gladly accepted." Douglas reached Red River settlement July 12th.

*Notes of Journey Across the Mountains from Fort Vancouver to Hudson's Bay and Back.*

Started from Vancouver 20 March 1827

Arrive at Walla Walla 27 " " 5 p.m. Boats 28

Leave " " 28 " "

Arrive at Okanagan 5 April " 5 p.m.

Leave " 6 April "

Arrive at Colville 12 " "

Leave " 17 "

pass thro' two Lakes

Country mountainous

River very rapid

Arrive at R. Mountains 27 "

Journey across the

Rocky Mountains

Distances

April 28.—Thro' 1st point of woods 9 miles—estimated by E.E.  
snow knee deep

29.—Battures—ford Columbia<sup>1</sup> } 10  
River 13 times—Water 3 feet }

2nd point Woods 3

30.—Battures—ford 7 times 9

Ascend Grand Cote 2

May 1.— " " " 5 to 6 miles

Encamp 1 mile on West  
side Height of Land

2.—Travel on snow crust }  
Snow at encamp.—last } 17  
night 4 to 5 ft. deep }

Having reached Battures }  
proceed }  
Traverse Atha. River } 6 or 7  
6 times }

3.—Cardinal with horses }  
Terminate journey across } 20 " 25  
to-day. Thick woods & }  
swamps }

81 miles in 6 days

It is probable the distance across properly measured is from 90 to 100 miles.

<sup>1</sup> An error: he means Wood river.



Atha River—1827.

May 4th.—proceed by canoe to Jasper's House

5th.—Embark at 4½ a.m. Encamp at 7 p.m.

6th.—“ “ 5½ “ “ at 10—Mr. McDougal and 4 men from N. Caledonia have been on the River 9 days—Ice bound.

7th.—Proceed—arrive at Fort Assiniboine at 8 p.m.

8th & 9th.—Fine weather—10th, 11th & 12th—thick snow

14th.—“ “ Start for Edmonton 56 horses and men proceed say 5 miles thro' woods.

15th.—“ “ 11 “ “ roads bad horses too weak to travel

16th.—“ “ 13 “ mire roads thro' thick woods

17th.—“ “ 12 “ “ “ “ “

18th.—“ “ 6 “

19th.—“ Berland's Lake

20th.—“ “ 8 “

21st.—“ “ 12 “ fresh horses from Edmonton

22nd.—“ “ 25 “ arrive at Edmonton

—  
92

Probably 100 miles, counting distance on 19th.

## II

### *Journal of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort Vancouver, Columbia River—1827*

July—

14th.—Saturday, Wet weather. Mosquitoes very numerous. Left Y<sup>1</sup> ¼ before 5 o'clock before 5 p.m. with 3 boats manned by 24 men. Encamped at ½ past 9 o'clock below the 18 mile Island.<sup>2</sup>

15th.—Fine weather. Started at daylight. Stopt 1 hour for breakfast—afterwards hoisted sail with a fresh breeze and continued sailing all day. Encamped about 9 p.m. a little above the mouth of Steel River.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> York Factory.

<sup>2</sup> This name does not appear on maps, but the name indicates that it was 18 miles from York. The route taken is that via Hayes river.

<sup>3</sup> In H. B. Co. nomenclature, the portion of Hayes river between the mouth of Fox river and mouth of Shamattawa river was called Steel river. They were, therefore, a little above the confluence of the Shamattawa.

16th, Monday.—Fine weather. Tracked<sup>1</sup> the whole day, except 1 hour stopt for breakfast. Entered the Hill River<sup>2</sup> at 5 p.m. and encamped a few miles up it at 9 o'clock.

17th, Tuesday.—Day fine. In the evening showers of rain with thunder. Started at 2 a.m. Current very strong and rapidous. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 o'clock 2 pipes<sup>3</sup> below the Rock.<sup>4</sup> Wm. Spence with letters from Y<sup>r</sup> overtakes us this evening.

18th.—Wet morning—fine day. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 a.m. cleared the Rock Portage by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock. Arrived at Borwick's Falls<sup>5</sup> by 8 and hauled up at a  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 9. At 11 came to the White Mud Portage which we cleared by  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 12. Thence proceeded on and hauled up the Point of Rocks Rapid by 3 p.m. Made another short hauling place and entered the still water about 6 o'clock. Encamped among the Rapids at the head of it at 9 o'clock.

19th, Thursday.—Light showers of rain at intervals during the day. Started at 2 a.m. and arrived at Brassy's Portage<sup>6</sup> at 5. Hauled up it with half cargoes and left it at 7—then hauled and poled up the Lower Flats and reached the Lower Burntwood portage at 10—which we cleared and took breakfast by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 o'clock. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 we reached the South Side Hauling place where we took out half cargoes and cleared it in 2 hours. Mr. C. Grant<sup>7</sup> with 2 boats from Red River passes us on his way to Y<sup>r</sup>. Afterwards ascended some bad Rapids. At Morgan's Rocks one of our Boats gets stove while passing within a small island to gain the foot of the Rapid. Cargo very little wetted—delayed, repair the Boat 2 hours. Leaving Morgan's Rock we proceed to U. Burntwood Portage which having cleared we went to the Rocky Launcher and encamped at 10 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> "Tracked," i.e. pulled the boats up stream with lines from the shore.

<sup>2</sup> From Fox river to Swampy lake the stream was known as Hill river.

<sup>3</sup> "2 pipes"—distances were often measured by the number of pipes a voyageur would smoke while traversing them.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. B. Co. depot called Rock House, situated immediately below 'The Rock.' Thirteen miles above is a prominent hill about 600 feet high about half-way between York and the Echimamish portage; it gives the name 'Hill river' to this portion of Hayes river.

<sup>5</sup> Borthwick portage: Between Rock portage and Groundwater Creek, a distance of about 30 miles—there are the following portages; Rock, Borthwick, White Mud, Point of Rocks, Brassey, Lower Burntwood, Morgans Rocks, Upper Burntwood, Rocky Launcher, Swampy, Smooth Rocks, Mossy, Second, First, The Devils Handling Place and Groundwater Creek. In this portion of its course, the Hayes river descends the 'fall line' that marks the principal abrupt descent from the Archæan plateau to the Palæozoic area.

<sup>6</sup> Brassey portage.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the Cuthbert Grant who, in 1816, killed Governor Semple and twenty-one members of his party at Seven Oaks, near Fort Garry.

20th, Friday.—Fine weather. Began our day's march at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 a.m. Cleared the Rocky Launcher, Swampy and Smooth Rocky Portages and reached the Mossy Portage by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 a.m. Here we occupied 5 hours and afterwards with much difficulty get up the Upper Flats and Lurance's Boat meets with another accident. This causes us to encamp at the next portage rather earlier than usual.

21st.—Slight rain in the morning—fine warm day. Embark at 2 a.m. Shortly after leaving the Portage McKay's boat runs foul of a stone and knocks a hole in her stem. Put ashore for about an hour to repair—then make the Upper Portage and a lightening place<sup>1</sup> which hold us till about noon. Continued the remainder of the day poling and hauling a succession of very strong rapids. Encamped on an Island near the top<sup>2</sup> of Hill River at 9 p.m. Heavy rain in the evening.

22nd, Sunday.—Heavy rain this morning. Started a little after 2 a.m. Come up to Mr. Leith<sup>3</sup> &c. with 2 Boats just ready to leave the 2nd Portage in Little Jack River<sup>4</sup> at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 a.m. Cleared it ourselves by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p.m. Arrived at the Up. Portage between 7 and 8 o'clock. People carried over the cargoes and got up the Boats over the first brink of the Fall and encamped about 9 p.m.

23rd.—Rained all last night and continued at intervals during the day. Cleared the Portage by 5 a.m. Proceeded in the Knee Lake pulling against a head wind (S.E.) In the afternoon overtake Mr. Nolin<sup>5</sup> with 2 Boats for R.R.<sup>6</sup> Men's provisions reduced to Peas and water. Encamped on an Island a short distance beyond the Knee<sup>7</sup> about 9 p.m.

24th.—Showers of rain during the day. Started about 2 a.m.—rejoined Mr. Leith at the Trout Fall.<sup>8</sup> Encamped at 10 p.m.—at the last strong rapid in Trout River,<sup>9</sup> having made on it 1 portage and 3 lightening places.

---

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* where a portion only of the load was taken out of the canoes. These portages were also called "demi-charges."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the head of the series of portages that mark the 'fall line.'

<sup>3</sup> James Leith signed the Montreal agreement Nov. 5, 1804, as a bourgeois winterer of the X. Y. Co.; he became Chief Factor in 1821; in 1838, he left £12,000 for Indian missions in Ruperts Land.

<sup>4</sup> The name applied to Hayes river between Swampy lake and Knee lake. In this stretch they passed the following portages; Lower, Long, Second and Upper.

<sup>5</sup> May be the Nolin, "retired trader, Sault Ste. Marie, 1817; sold out about 1819 to C. O. Ermatinger and went to Pembina" (Coues, Henry and Thompson Jour. III 990).

<sup>6</sup> Red River.

<sup>7</sup> The apex of the curved shore line that gives Knee lake its name.

<sup>8</sup> Just above Knee lake.

<sup>9</sup> The name applied to Hayes river between Knee lake and Oxford lake.



25th.—Fine weather. Started at 3 a.m.—arrived at Oxford House<sup>1</sup> about 8 o'clock. Thence proceeded thro' the Holy Lake<sup>2</sup> sailing most of the day with a side wind. Got our cargoes over the first portage in the Weepin a panis<sup>3</sup> and encamped about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 p.m. Slight rain.

26th, Thursday.—In the evening we had a tremendous shower of rain with much thunder and lightening. Men began to get up the Boats about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 a.m. Made another portage in the Weepin a panis—passed thro' a Lake, then a grassy River and another Lake and cleared the first portage in Hell's Gate or Hill's Gate.<sup>4</sup> Encamped at the 2nd Hauling Place.

27th.—Slight showers of rain. Cleared the 2nd Portage in Hell's Gate.<sup>5</sup> Passed thro' a small Lake and arrived at the White Falls<sup>6</sup> about 9 a.m. got over our boats and cargoes by 8 o'clock—loaded the boats and encamped.

28th.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 a.m. arrived at the painted stone<sup>7</sup> about 8. Found the upper end of the Itchenemanines<sup>8</sup> rather shoal. Encamped near the end of the River at 10 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> A Hudson's Bay Co. post at the outlet of Holey lake; Franklin says that, though, formerly a post of some consequence, it, "at present [1819], exhibits unequivocal signs of decay. The Indians have of late years been gradually deserting the low or swampy country and ascending the Saskatchewan where animals are more abundant" (Franklin, First Journey, 37).

<sup>2</sup> Correctly, Holey or Hole lake; so named from a portion of the lake that has not been sounded. This portion of the lake—near the outlet—is called 'The Deep Hole.'

<sup>3</sup> A local name for Hayes river above Holey lake. It is a "narrow, grassy river which runs parallel to the [Holey] lake for a considerable distance and forms its south bank into a narrow peninsula" (Franklin, First Journey, 38).

<sup>4</sup> Lower Hill Gates portage. Between Holey and Windy lakes, he passed the following portages: Lower, Moore, Upper and Crooked Spout. Between Windy and Whitewater lakes, he passed Lower Hill Gates, Upper Hill Gates and Whitefall portages. 'Hill Gates' is the "name imposed upon a romantic defile whose rocky walls rising perpendicularly to the height of sixty or eighty feet, hem in the stream for three-quarters of a mile, in many places so narrowly that there is a want of room to ply the oars." (Franklin, First Journey, 38-9).

<sup>5</sup> Upper Hill Gates portage.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson portage near outlet of Whitewater lake.

<sup>7</sup> Painted-stone portage. "The painted stone is a low rock, ten or twelve yards across, remarkable for the marshy streams which arise on each side of it, taking different courses," on the one side to Hayes river and on the other to Nelson river. "It is said that there was formerly a stone placed near the centre of this portage on which figures were annually traced and offerings deposited by the Indians" (Franklin, First Journey, 40-1).

<sup>8</sup> Echimamish river, a tributary of Nelson river.

29th.—Rain in the morning. Started about 3 a.m. Proceeded with the oars to the sea river portage which having cleared hoisted the sail and sailed to Jack River House<sup>1</sup> where we arrived about 9 p.m.

30th.—Wet weather. Left Jack River House before noon and sailed to Norway House. Here we found 2 R. River Boats<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Ross<sup>3</sup> and Heron.<sup>4</sup> Started again in the evening and encamped at the next point.

31st, Tuesday.—Weather being moderate started after sunrise and rowed to the Mossy Point—here finding that wind was likely to be too much for us we about ship to regain our last Encampment—however afterwards thinking that it had calmed we put about again when about half back—then the wind veered a little to the S.W. We were enabled to hoist sail—but we soon perceived that a storm was coming on and had only time to run our boats ashore and get out the cargoes when it began to blow a gale with thunder and lightening and heavy showers of rain. The place where we were forced to put ashore is a very bad landing and never approached but in cases of danger—here we were fortunate enough to find Tom Firth with two Saskn. Boats who was forced ashore yesterday by bad weather. His people were useful in assisting us to land our cargoes which was done with little damage. One Boat however got two planks knocked out by the violence of the waves before she could be hauled up and 16 of her timbers broken.

#### August—

1st.—Fine weather. Wind westerly blowing hard—people employed drying some of our wet things and repairing the boat broken yesterday. Remained here for this night.

2nd.—Fine weather. Wind being more moderate loaded the boats and got under weigh about 8 a.m.—rowed along the shores of the Lake till 6 p.m. and then hoisted sail and proceeded with a fresh breeze till night.

3rd.—Friday. Sailed all night and arrived at the Grand Rapid at 9 a.m. Got the Boats up to the Portage and carried the cargoes half

---

<sup>1</sup> The new establishment or 'new' Norway House; see *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Red River boats.

<sup>3</sup> Improbable that it was Alex. Ross, clerk, Pacific Fur Co.; entered North West Co's. service on the transfer in 1813; left with the overland party April, 1814; wintered at Okanagan 1815-16; in autumn 1816, went to Kamloops; left the H. B. Co. in 1825; was the author of "The Red River Settlement," "The Fur-hunters of the Far West," and "Adventures on the Columbia River."

<sup>4</sup> Coues notes a 'Mr. Heron' at Fort Alexander (Bas de la Riviere), with Crebassa, July, 1817. Probably the James Heron who accompanied Governor Simpson in 1828, from Rapid River House to Fort Chipewyan and was put in charge there as successor to William McGillivray.



way over. Traded some fresh and dried sturgeon from freemen<sup>1</sup> and Indians.

4th.—Fine weather. Had our boats and cargoes over the portage and were ready to start about 4 a.m. However Larance's Boat by mischance got loose just as they were going to load her and was precipitated down the Rapid—fortunately an eddy brought her up before she got far down and in a short time she was brought back safe. As we were about to embark one of our Columbia young hands (Desaire) was missing and as it was thought he had deserted, people were sent off in pursuit. In a short time he came running to the boats in great consternation—it seems he had laid himself down in some part of the Portage and fell asleep which held him longer than he intended. While we were sending for him another man (E. Pepin) actually did desert and we only succeeded in finding him late at night. This fellow added the crime of theft to desertion—for it appears during the time we were occupied on the Portage he had concealed a small bale containing the property of two of his companions and when found he was already rigged out in their clothing. As a punishment he was tied for the night. About 6 p.m. 4 of the Boats were sent off and ourselves with two remained near the portage for the double purpose of recovering our man and trading some more sturgeon.

5th.—We had a good deal rain during the day with thunder and lightening. Started between 3 and 4 a.m. At the Red Rock carried half cargoes and after working up a very bad part of the River full of strong Rapids we came up with our other 4 Boats at midnight encamped at the entrance of the Cedar Lake.

6th.—Fine weather. Started between 9 and 10 a.m., sailed for a short distance thro' the Lake and then pulled thro' it till 9 p.m. when we encamped near the end of it.

7th.—Fine weather. Started about 3 a.m. Rowed all day and stopt to rest in the Boats about 8 o'clock. Land being overflowed unable to camp on shore.

8th.—Started about 3 a.m. Rowed till afternoon then hoisted sail and sailed and rowed together till 10 p.m. and stopt for the night at the lower end of the narrow below the Pas.<sup>2</sup> Rained all day.

9th.—Tremendous claps of thunder this morning. Rained at intervals all day. Started before 3 a.m. Sailed a short distance. Reached the Pas between 9 and 10 o'clock and took breakfast with

---

<sup>1</sup> Men who had served their time with the Company were permitted to trap, fish and trade with the Company.

<sup>2</sup> For this and other localities noted in west-bound trip, see *ante*.



Capt. Back,<sup>1</sup> Lieut. Kendall<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Drummond<sup>3</sup> who arrived at the same time with ourselves. Afterwards set off and pulled all day against a strong head wind. Encamped (on land) at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 p.m.

10th.—Rained all day. Started between 3 and 4 a.m. Reached the Barriers, by which track we proceeded at 8 p.m. Having pulled up the River against a very strong current for a short distance, we entered a Lake and hoisted Sail, but the darkness of night obliged us to wait daylight and at 10 o'clock we set about making ourselves as comfortable as we could in open Boats drenched with incessant rain.

11th.—Rained all day (one shower of hail). About 4 a.m. we resumed our voyage and arrived at Cumberland about 6 p.m. having rowed all day against a strong head wind thro' lakes and narrows. We found 2 men here from Carlton who arrived some time ago with Provisions.

12th, Sunday.—Overcast with rain. Some changes having been made in the Boats cargoes to embark the families of Messrs. McLeod and McDougal<sup>4</sup> we took our departure from the place at 8 a.m. The last Boat arrived at the encampment at 10 p.m.

13th.—Overcast with rain. Embarked at 4 a.m. having made some further alterations to equalize the Boats cargoes. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 p.m.

14th.—Showers of rain during the day. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Passed the River Cebanac<sup>5</sup> about 10. Encamped at the head of Thoburn's Rapid at 8 p.m.

---

<sup>1</sup> Com. George Back (1796–1878) who, as a midshipman, accompanied Sir John Franklin in his first Arctic expedition, 1819–22 and in his second, 1825–27; Commander, 1825; Captain, 1835; commanded an expedition to northern Canada, 1833–35, in search of Capt. John Ross' expedition; Captain of the *Terror* commanding expedition to northwestern portion of Hudson Bay, 1836–37; knighted 1839; in 1833–35, discovered Aylmer and Clinton-Colden lakes and Backs river; at the mouth of the latter, the survivors of the Franklin expedition died in 1848. He and his companions, were on their way back to England. Promoted to Admiral, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> E. N. Kendall, Asst.-Surveyor in *Griper* in Lyon's voyage of exploration in northern portion of Hudson bay, 1824; Lieutenant, 1825; accompanied Franklin in his second Arctic expedition, 1825–27 and surveyed the Arctic coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers; accompanied Back in his land expedition, 1833–35.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Drummond, Asst.-Naturalist in Franklin's second Arctic expedition, 1825–27; was sent to the prairies and Rocky mountains; May 6, 1826, he met the Columbia brigade at the summit of Athabaska pass; was again there in following October and intended to accompany them to Fort Vancouver but received instructions to meet Back next year (1827) in time to descend to York Factory. He was at Carlton when Ermatinger arrived there June 4th preceding. See page 88.

<sup>4</sup> The family of A. R. McLeod for Ft. Vancouver and that of James McDougall for New Caledonia.

<sup>5</sup> The Sipanok channel which flows from the Saskatchewan to Carrot river.

15th.—Slight rain. Wind ahead. Started at 4 a.m. At dusk having arrived at a very shoal part of the River we had much difficulty in passing it and only reached our encampment at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 o'clock. Mr. Rowand's<sup>1</sup> Boat having taken a different channel found it barred at the top and was obliged to remain there for the night.

16th.—One shower of rain to-day—part of the crews of the 5 Boats went at daylight to assist in extricating Mr. R.'s boat from its confined situation, which being effected we resumed our journey at 5 a.m. Encamped at 8 p.m. (Dr. Todd<sup>2</sup> stretched his legs in the Boat). La Rivie<sup>3</sup> unwell, off duty.

17th, Friday.—Rain afternoon. The Dog Prince<sup>4</sup> having strayed from the Boats yesterday, a man was dispatched in search of him this morning. Started at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 a.m. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8.

18th.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. At noon came to point La Corne<sup>5</sup> and breakfasted. Saw G. Sutherland freeman from whom traded a little dried meat &c. McKay and Guilbauche fought at the point above—2 rounds—Guilbauche beaten. Encamped 2 points above Fort a Batosh.<sup>6</sup> Man returned without the dog.

19th.—Rained in the evening. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Breakfasted at 11 opposite the South Branch.<sup>7</sup> Saw an Indian here from whom were traded 270<sup>8</sup> swans. Encamped at 8 o'clock below the 7th of the Cole's Rapids. Papin sick, off duty.

20th.—Fine weather. Started at 5 a.m. A Point below Campment des femmes—found a man from Carlton with the meat of 2 Buffaloes, off which we took breakfast. Owing to the badness of one of the staves in a 2 gallon keg (Brandy) which we got at Y<sup>r</sup> for Cola,<sup>9</sup> outcoming 1828, we found that just the half has run out in LaRance's boat. Desaire having a sore foot remained at our Encampment unknown to us. McKay went off in search of him and only arrived at the Encampment with him at 11 p.m. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 o'clock one point above Rapide Croche.

21st.—Fine warm weather. Started at 5 a.m. Encamped a point above Sturgeon River.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Rowand, a Chief Factor since 1825. See p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Probably not the famous John Tod, Chief Trader; in command at McLeod Lake, B.C., 1823–32; in command at Kamloops in 1846; member of Provisional Council of Vancouver Island, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Lariviere.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* a dog named "Prince."

<sup>5</sup> Opposite Fort a la Corne in Range XX, W. of 2nd Mer., Tp. 48, The first fort was built there by Luc la Corne in 1753.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Batoche point.

<sup>7</sup> Opposite the mouth of South Saskatchewan.

<sup>8</sup> There is apparently an omission in MS. here.

<sup>9</sup> York Factory for Columbia.

<sup>10</sup> About 6 miles above Prince Albert.



22nd.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. At 9 o'clock we were met by Gadana with meat from Carlton. Breakfasted and afterwards hoisted sail with a fresh breeze, but did not sail far when the wind headed us-ward and we again took to the oars. Encamped about 8 p.m. in sight of the Steep Banks.

23rd.—Fine weather. Mosquitoes very thick. Started before 4 a.m. Sailed for a short distance; arrived at Carlton after 3 p.m. Yesterday it appears the last of a party of about 400 Slaves,<sup>1</sup> Sourcis<sup>2</sup> and other Indians took their departure after having stolen 7 horses and committed other depredations about the Fort.

24th.—Very warm weather and mosquitoes so thick that we can get no rest night or day. Employed giving out the orders and outfit of this place &c.

25th.—Weather very warm and mosquitoes very thick. Outfit for this place completed and Boats reloaded.

26th, Sunday.—Fine weather. Started with 6 Boats between 8 and 9 a.m. At 5 afternoon hoist sail with a fresh breeze which soon increased to a gale with thunder and lightening. Encamped about 7 o'clock.

27th.—Fine weather. Started about 5 a.m. Continued pulling and tracking till 7 and encamped about the elbow. Found an Indian and some half breeds on the Island encamped also. On their way to Carlton.

28th.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Wind ahead—rowed and tracked all day. Encamped a little after 7 p.m.

29th.—Fine warm weather. Started at 5 a.m. Saw several Bulls<sup>3</sup> opposite to Basfond Guilbauche about 1 p.m.—killed one. Encamped on a Sandy Island after having stopt on the main shore to cook and take supper.

30th.—Weather as yesterday. Hoisted sail, about 4 a.m., with a moderate breeze and continued sailing till about 3 o'clock when wind shifts ahead. Encamped on Island at 7 p.m.

31st.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Passed the Battle River<sup>4</sup> this morning. In the evening hoisted sail with a fair wind which scarcely favours us when we are driven a shore by a perfect storm of head wind about 6 o'clock. Encamped.

---

<sup>1</sup> See page 72: probably Blackfeet or Peigans; the former now reside on the Blackfeet reserve about half-way between Calgary and Medicine Hat. The Peigan reserve is S.W. of Lethbridge, Alta.

<sup>2</sup> Sarcees or Sarcis. They reside on a reserve situated 10 miles southwest of Calgary.

<sup>3</sup> Buffalo bulls.

<sup>4</sup> Battle river falls into the North Saskatchewan from the south, at the town of Battleford.



*September—*

1st, Saturday.—Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. Saw a Black Bear to-day at which several shots were fired, but missed. Continued rowing and tracking all day against a head wind. Encamped at 8 p.m.

2nd.—Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m., travelled till 10 o'clock rowing and tracking, then having taken breakfast hoist sail with a fresh breeze. Eastly. wind which pushes us forward till night and put ashore for a few hours at the lower end of the long reach below Vermilion<sup>1</sup> about 8 p.m. Two men went off along shore to hunt this morning and killed a Cabris.

3rd.—Fine weather. Started this morning a little after midnight and sailed to the upper end of the long reach by 10 o'clock. Here we found 2 men with 8 horses from Edmonton—from them we got a little deer's meat. At noon we resume our journey with a strong breeze—4 men proceed along ashore with the horses—passed Vermilion Creek at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 p.m. Encamped  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 8 o'clock some distance above the Frog Rapid.<sup>2</sup>

4th, Tuesday.—Fine weather. Started about 4 o'clock and took breakfast at 10 at the Old Fort<sup>3</sup> below the Dog Rump Creek. Hence two men were dispatched on horseback for Edmonton in order that horses may be brought home in readiness by the time the boats arrive. Wind still continues to favour us and assists us in ascending many strong rapids. Continued sailing till 6 o'clock in the evening when it calmed and we proceeded tracking till  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 8 and encamped at 4 or 5 miles above the Island House.<sup>4</sup>

5th.—Commenced raining last night and continued till 9 this morning—afterwards fine weather but wind strong ahead. Started before 5 a.m. Afternoon hunters informed us they had killed 4 Red Deer and wounded another some distance off—therefore we put ashore and wait while they bring it to the boats—about 7 p.m. the hunters arrive with the meat which having embarked we continued our voyage and encamped at Craig's point at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 8 o'clock.

6th.—Fine weather. Light shower of rain toward evening. Started at 4 a.m., got up the Rapids Croche by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p.m., several lines broken at this rapid. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 o'clock.

7th.—Fine weather. Started  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Continued tracking all day and encamped  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 9 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> Vermilion river.. See *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably near the mouth of Frog creek which falls in from the north near the line between ranges III and IV, W. of the 4th Mer., Tp. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Old fort George; see p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Fort de l'Isle or Island House was built by Decoigne in 1801 and was about 20 miles above fort George.

8th.—Fair weather. Started at 4 a.m. Arrived at the Carp Creek<sup>1</sup> at 11 o'clock and took breakfast. Found a party of Crees encamped at this place, from them traded some furs and provisions after which Messrs. Rowand set off on horseback. Encamped a little above the painted Creek at 9 p.m.

9th, Sunday.—Fine weather. Started at 5 a.m. and encamped 9 p.m. about 3 miles above Pointe a Perogin.

10th.—Fine weather. Embarked  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. and arrived at Edmonton about 1 o'clock.

11th & 12th.—Remained at Edmonton arranging our baggage and waiting till the Saskatchewan were ready, as Mr. Klyne<sup>2</sup> has to accompany us to the mountains with an outfit for Jaspers.<sup>3</sup>

13th.—Fine weather. Left Edmonton this afternoon with 29 loaded and 6 saddle horses. Passengers, pieces and baggage being as follows:—Messrs. Todd, McDougal, Ermatinger, Louis Leblanc, the ladies of Messrs. McLeod and McDougal and 2 children.

12 packs dressed leather	$\frac{1}{2}$ bale Sundries—families
1 bale portage straps	2 case and basket—Dr. Todd
5 “ Robes for Jaspers House	2 barrels biscuit
1 Cassette <sup>4</sup> & portmanteau Dr. Todd	1 keg sugar
2 “ Mr. McDougal	1 keg tea
1 “ E. E.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Maccaroni
2 “ families	1 keg Beef and Pork
1 C “ (small) L. Leblanc	1 keg spirits for Drams
1 bag flour J. W. Dease	Prov.
1 keg sugar “	6 bags Pemican
2 “ do families	2 bales Dried Meat ea. 50 lbs.
2 bags flour do	2 prs. Saddle Bags grease
$\frac{1}{2}$ Maccaron do	ea. 100 lbs.
1 case G. McD.	8 bags potatoes
1 tent do	5 beds and sundry small parcels.
1 do Dr. Todd	
1 paper Trunk.	

We were accompanied by Messrs. Harriott and Klyne with their people and outfit. Crossed the Sturgeon River and encamped. Carried the pieces across.

<sup>1</sup> Carp creek falls in from the north near the line between ranges XIX and XX, West of 4th Mer., Tp. 58.

<sup>2</sup> In the spring of 1825, Michael Klyne (or Kline) was in charge of Jasper House and the references here and in the Journal of May 8, 1828, indicate that he was still in charge. Alex. Ross says that, in 1825, it was “in charge of a man by the name of Klyne, a jolly old fellow, with a large family.”

<sup>3</sup> Jasper House, the last outpost east of the mountains.

<sup>4</sup> Cassettes were pine boxes 28 in. long, 16 in. wide, and 15 in. deep. They were very strongly constructed and proof against accident except fire.

14th, Thursday.—Started at sunrise and made our first stage to the Grand Echaffaud by 11—resumed 2 and at 5 encamped at Rivière que basse near Lac a Berland<sup>1</sup>—light rain.

15th.—Fine weather. Proceeded this day as far as Lac La Nan,<sup>2</sup> having made one halt—2 men sent ahead to repair the canoes at Fort Assiniboine. Picard arrives at our encampment with letters from J. R. Esq.<sup>3</sup>

16th.—Fine weather. The party went as far as Jolie Prairie and encamped—having made one stop near Paddle River. Messrs. Klyne and Ermatinger went off ahead this morning for the Fort.

17th, Sunday.—Fine weather. Starting from Jolie Prairie our party reached Les Deux Rivières and encamped.

18th.—Fine weather. The whole Brigade reached Fort Assiniboine before noon all safe—except that LeBlanc's horse got astray the night before last and was left. Messrs. Klyne and Ermatinger with the 2 men arrived yesterday morning. Shortly after arrival the people set about making their poles and paddles while the Boutes<sup>4</sup> are repairing the canoes. We only found here two good canoes and 3 much broken—and as we require 4, we have chosen the two best of the latter and the 2 former.

19th.—Fine weather—people employed as yesterday. The 2 old canoes have had half their bottoms renewed.

20th.—Fine weather. Our canoes being ready we embarked at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 a.m. with lading as follows:—

No. 1	No. 2
9 packs Leather	8 packs Leather
1 barrel biscuit	3 Cassettes p.p.
2 Cassettes p.p.	1 bag flour “
1 do paper trunk	1 keg sugar “
2 kegs tea and sugar	1 case “
1 portmanteau p.p.	1 bag Ball E
2 case and basket	1 Roll Tobacco
<hr/> 18	<hr/> 16
No. 1	No. 2
Bröt. forward—18 pcs	Brt. forward 16 pcs;
1 Bale Portage Straps	
1 Bag Ball E	
<hr/> 20 ps.	<hr/> 16

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Lac la Nonne; see *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> John Rowand. Clerks were addressed as “Mr” but Chief Factors and Chief Traders were commissioned officers and were addressed as “Esq.”

<sup>4</sup> Bowsmen.



## Passengers

Dr. Todd and Mr. Ermatinger  
son Michael Klyne

Prov. 3 bags Pemican 1 bale meat

Michael Otatame Boute

Pierre Karagangate

L. Ogsin M

H. Lacharité "

P. Gilbot "

P. Therrien "

A. Eno "

Jos. Lapierre "

## No. 3

10 packs Leather

2 kegs sugar p.p.

2 bags flour "

2 Cassettes "

1 keg sugar E

1 case Irons "

—  
18

## Passengers

Families A. R. McLeod, Esq.,  
and A. Ogie, viz.—2 women  
and 4 children

## Provs.

3 bags Pemican

P. Bouché

F. Lepine

J. Simpson

Bouisseau

Baptiste Iroquois

Jas. Lacharité

A. Ogre

1 pack Leather among the Canoes for coverings.

## Passengers

Mr. Geo. McDougall  
and Lady of Mr. J. McD.

Provs. 3 bags Pemican

## Crews.

J. B. Jolibois

J. B. Obichon

X. Séguin

Loyer

Jos. Roquebrune

P. Desaire

F. LaFrance

L. Leblanc

## No. 4

4 bales Goods E

5 packs Robes "

2 kegs powder "

2 " Sugar "

1 maccaron "

2 kegs Spirits "

$\frac{1}{2}$  bag shot "

$\frac{1}{2}$  " guns and Rifles "

2 bags flour "

1 roll Tobacco "

—  
20

## Passengers

Michael Klyne and family  
viz.—woman and 4 children

3 bags Pemican and 1  
bale meat.

## Crews.

Bedeau

A. Roudeau

Beauchamps

Louis Shargashatsh

Fullardeau

E. Pepin

Picard

Nipissingue

Of the foregoing cargoes—28 packs of Leather are for New Caledonia and 25 ps. for Jasper's House Outfit. Detained 1 hour pitching canoes. Encamped at 7 p.m.

21st, Thursday.—Fine weather. Embarked at 5 a.m. and encamped at 7 after mounting a very strong and long Rapid in which Bouche's<sup>1</sup> canoe got broken.

22nd.—Rained last night—day overcast. Bouche's canoe having been repaired we started after 6 a.m. having previously exchanged his steersman (Lepine) who finds himself unable to perform his duty in that capacity, his eyesight being bad. At breakfast time, we found that the same canoe required more repairs and were consequently delayed four hours more for that purpose—2 of the other canoes were also gummed. Afterwards proceeded opposite to McLeod's Branch<sup>2</sup> and encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m. River hitherto very Rapidous.

23rd.—Continued raining all last night and ceased this morning at 6 o'clock when we embarked. Delayed one hour extra at breakfast gumming 2 of the canoes. Marched till 7 p.m. Ascended a great number of steep rapids to-day.

24th, Monday.—Fine pleasant weather. Embarked this morning at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5. Gummed 3 canoes at breakfast time—which delayed us an hour, and afterwards one of the same requires gumming again which causes another delay. Encamped  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 6 p.m. Loyer and Picard were off hunting this morning but saw nothing. Jollibois falls sick with a swelling in his throat.

25th, Tuesday.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. Gummed our canoes twice. Encamped at 6 p.m. Ascended many strong rapids to-day. Jollibois still unwell, unable to do duty.

26th.—Rain this morning prevented from starting till near 7 o'clock. We then proceeded till 9 when we came up to a camp of Stone Indians<sup>3</sup> where we took breakfast and traded with them a little dried provisions—during our stay here one of our canoes regummed—resumed our journey at 11 a.m. Shortly after another canoe having got a slight break in one of the rapids, put ashore to gum. Indeed we find all our canoes too much laden to proceed without getting damaged in such strong rapids as we have passed to-day and they have so often rubbed on the rocks in them that we were obliged to put ashore at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p.m. and have

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably Boucher.

<sup>2</sup> McLeod river, an important tributary of the Athabaska; falls in from the south.

<sup>3</sup> Assiniboin Indians; in western Canada, usually called Stonies; have a reserve at Morley, 40 miles west of Calgary.

them gummed afresh. Passed Riviere a Baptiste<sup>1</sup> about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 o'clock. Picard and Nipissingue<sup>2</sup> two of the Rocky Mountain freemen took leave of us this morning—the former to hunt his way down and the latter to proceed to Jasper's. Altho' these two men disembarked out of one canoe, we find that she goes better with the remaining six than she did before with eight.

27th.—Fine day. One of our men (Lafrance) having been seized last night with a violent cholic we could not start as usual—however, about 8 o'clock we made an attempt to continue our voyage, but were soon obliged to put ashore again, the man's illness having much increased. The Doctor gave him a triple dose which took no effect. About 2 p.m. we were enabled to pursue our voyage. During our stay here several packs which had got wet were opened and dried. Encamped a little after 6 p.m. having ascended several very strong rapids. Some of the canoes could not mount under the poles and the men had to drag them up. Lafrance still very unwell. Jolibois getting better.

28th, Friday.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. At breakfast time two of our canoes required gumming. We afterwards ascended a chain of rapids to the head of Rapids des Morts<sup>3</sup> where, as our canoes require gumming again, we encamped at 5 p.m. At 8 of these rapids which are very strong three of the canoes were handed up—only one has been able to ascend under the poles which is owing to the dexterity of the Bouts. Lafrance and Jolibois are on the recovery.

29th.—Fine day. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 a.m. and continued our voyage till past 5 when we camped, just below the Grand Basfond,<sup>4</sup> on account of bad weather, it having begun to rain. The river has been less difficult to-day than heretofore. We had our first view of the Rocky Mountains about noon and should have seen them sooner but for the cloudy weather. Our two men have both recovered and are on duty.

30th.—Tolerable weather till evening when it began to rain and afterwards to hail. We started a little after 5 and encamped about  $\frac{1}{2}$

---

<sup>1</sup> Baptiste river; falls into the Athabaska from the north about 70 miles above the McLeod. Named after Baptiste Berland, a fur trader; probably Berland lake and river (see page 85) named after him. A "Berland" was, for a time, in charge of Jasper House. When Sir George Simpson was on his journey round the world in 1841–42, Berland met him with horses on the Columbia.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Rapide des Morts or Dead Man rapid is about 15 miles below the Grand Basfond—a large alluvial flat—where the trail to Edmonton leaves the Athabaska. In May, 1814, the North West Company's overland party lost two canoemen Lapensée and Bélanger—the second day after they left Jasper House. The name probably commemorates this accident. Practically all the Rap. des Morts or Death rapids received their names from some drowning accident.

<sup>4</sup> Grand Basfond; see note 3.



way up the last string of rapids about 6 p.m. Loyer left us this morning to go to the Fort.

*October—*

1st.—Overcast. Started before 6 a.m. and having got up a number of Shoal Rapids full of large stones, we arrived at Jasper's House about 10 o'clock. The remainder of the day was occupied remaking packs Leather, gumming the canoes, &c., &c. Out of the packs rendered this summer at this place we find about one to be useless. We found on arrival here 3 men from the Columbia with a letter from J. W. Dease, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> dated from the West end of the Portage Oct. 25th.<sup>2</sup>

2nd.—Fine weather but cool. The 4 canoes were sent off about 8 o'clock this morning to proceed to the Portage, the 2 large ones, laden with each 15 packs Leather and 3 Cassettes or cases and manned by 6 men—and the 2 old ones each 12 packs 1 Cassette and manned by 5 men. Provisions 1 bag Pemican pr. canoe. At noon our horses being collected and the baggage tied &c. our van marched and the whole party were off from Jasper's by 1 p.m. All the gentlemen and families go by land to lighten the canoes. Our pieces for this amount 66 packs Leather and parchment, 18 bags pemican with our private baggage and the number of horses we are to employ on the Portage amount to 54. We encamped at 5 p.m. below the point of Mietts Rock,<sup>3</sup> which is high and difficult to pass. The mares are to follow us light to the Portage.

3rd.—Fine weather. Started at 8 a.m. and proceeded generally through a good track and encamped at Campment de Cardinale<sup>4</sup> a small creek, after descending the hills beyond the 2nd Lake at 5 p.m. Apisasis killed two moose near the Encampment, which the horses fetch after they arrived from their day's march.

4th.—Fine weather. Started before 8 a.m. and arrived at the Portage<sup>5</sup> about noon. On our way thither the hunter killed another moose. We found the people with the canoes and cargoes here before

<sup>1</sup> John Warren Dease; see page 75.

<sup>2</sup> An error; should read Sept. 25th.

<sup>3</sup> Roche a Miette is a great cubical block opposite Jasper House and "is said to have been once ascended from the south side by a hunter named Miette after whom it was named." Ermatinger's 'Roche Miette' is now called Roche de Smet—'Suette' on many maps—named after Father de Smet, the famous Roman Catholic missionary. It is not quite clear why the name was transferred from a peak on the *west* side of the Athabaska to one on the *east* side; possibly as a result of the temporary abandonment of Jasper House. In any event, it occurred between 1828 and the Palliser expedition in 1859.

<sup>4</sup> Campment de Cardinal.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the mouth of Miette river at the present town of Fitzhugh. The trail to New Caledonia *via* the Yellowhead pass left the Athabaska at this point.

us. They arrived this morning also. The rest of the day employed drying and repacking leather.

5th. Friday.—Fine warm weather. Having separated and prepared the Baggage the Columbia people set off about 10 a.m. with 15 horses—3 employed as saddle horses for Messrs. Todd, Ermatinger, Mr. McLeod's wife and 2 children, the other 12 laden with the following Baggage, &c.

2 Cassettes—Dr. Todd and Mrs. McL.

22 “ paper Trunk and small Cassette—E. E. and L. Leblanc

2 case and basket

1 portmanteau—Dr. T.

8 bags pemican

$\frac{1}{2}$  bale Portage Straps

2 kegs sugar biscuit

1 bag flour—Mrs. McL.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Moose—Beds, &c., &c.

Mr. McDougal<sup>1</sup> has 40 horses to transport his packs, &c. Memo. of Art. given to Mr. McD. for his voyage<sup>2</sup>—8 bags Pemican, 2 canisters tea 3 lb.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  keg biscuit, 1 moose, 1 canister sugar, 8 lb. 4 flagons spirits,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cheese.

Encamped on the banks of the River, having passed Campment des Vaches<sup>3</sup> and a piece of Bad Woods.

6th.—Fine warm weather. Started before 8 a.m. and proceeded till 4 when we encamped 3 or 4 miles beyond Campment d'Orignal. Road much encumbered with fallen wood.

7th.—Fine weather. Started at 8 a.m. and encamped near the height of land, having passed thro' some very bad swamps and mires during the day. View of the mountains very grand. One ahead all day clearing the road in different places—and as the track is much worse farther on 4 will start early to-morrow morning for the same purpose.

8th.—Sharp frost this morning, but day fine. We started between 8 and 9 o'clock and continued our march till near 4 p.m., when encamped on the battures below the Grand Cote. This has certainly been a very labourious day's march for the horses, but the road was never better, we had not the least snow on the way. Apisasis killed a young grizzly bear at the height of land—and one of the men killed a martin on the Big Hill.

<sup>1</sup> George McDougall of Ft. Alexandria on Fraser river. The wife of his brother, James McDougall, was of this party.

<sup>2</sup> To New Caledonia by way of Yellowhead pass.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 81. Ross Cox says; so called “in consequence of buffalo having been formerly killed in it” and that it “forms a landscape that for rural beauty cannot be excelled in any country.”

9th. Tuesday.—Fine weather. Start as usual. Proceeded over Battures and afterwards thro' a point of woods which is one mire from beginning to end and much encumbered with fallen wood. Encamped at the end of the Battures next to the last point of woods—3 p.m.

10th.—Fine weather. Started at 7 a.m. and arrived at the end of the Portage about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10. Found J. W. Dease, Esq., and family here—people occupied the remainder of the day making paddles &c.

11th.—Fine weather. Left the Portage between 9 and 10 a.m. and having travelled with a swift current all day encamped at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 6 about 5 miles below the Dalles des Morts—killed a fine fat Bear to-day.

12th.—Thick fog all day. We were on the water before 5 a.m. Entered the 1st Lake about 3. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m.

13th.—Foggy morning but fine day. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Paddled thro' the 1st Lake<sup>1</sup> (about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of it) down the River and encamped a little way in the 2nd Lake<sup>2</sup> at 5 p.m. Gummed one of the boats. Saw Indians.

14th.—Had a shower of rain but day generally fine. Embarked 2 a.m. Proceeded thro' the 2nd Lake and re-entered the River about 2 p.m. Encamped some distance below McGillivray's River<sup>3</sup> at 5 o'clock.

15th.—Fine weather. Started about 4 a.m. and reached Fort Colville by noon.

16th.—Fine weather. People employed this day gumming their boats. One they take over the Kettle Falls portage and one is already there left in summer. The latter requires pitching all over. Get our baggage transported in carts below the Portage.

17th.—Fine weather. One of our Boats was not finished pitching till near eleven o'clock when we embarked with crews and cargoes as follows: viz.

No. 1		No. 2	
3 bags Corn	Crew	5 bags Potatoes N.P.	Crew
1 keg Gum	1 M. Otretance F.	1 pack Parfleches	1 P. Bouche F.
1 Pack Leather	2 P. Karangangate S.	1 keg Gum	2 Louis Iro-
1 bale Straps	4 Middlemen and Boy	1 Cassette	quois S.
2 Cassettes		1 Sugar & Flour	6 Middlemen
1 do Papers	Passengers	1 case	
1 Trunk	Messrs. Todd & E. E.	2 bags Pemican } Provs.	Passengers
1 Portmanteau		1 bag Potatoes }	A. R. McLeod,
3 bags pemican	} Provs.	1 box 3 pigs & Barley	Esq.
2 do Potatoes &c. }			Family
2 case and basket			

<sup>1</sup> Upper Arrow lake.

<sup>2</sup> Lower Arrow lake.

<sup>3</sup> Kootenay river.



Made portage with Boats and Cargoes at the Grand Rapid which occupied us above 2 hours. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 o'clock.

18th, Thursday.—Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. passed the Spokane Forks<sup>1</sup> at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5.

19th.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 and arrived at Okanagan<sup>2</sup> about 1 p.m. Mr. A. McDonald arrived shortly after us from Thompson's River.<sup>3</sup>

20th.—Fine weather. Mr. McDonald's<sup>4</sup> men having arrived this afternoon with Salmon which we have to take to Nez Perces<sup>5</sup> we load our boats and went and encamped at the Fork of the little River. We left at Okanagan the Pigs and a bale of Leather which we brought from Colville and we take in for Nez Perces 15 bales Dried Salmon. The two boats are thus loaded.

No. 2		No. 1	
8 bales Salmon N.P.		7 bales Salmon N.P.	
3 bags Potatoes "	Provs.	2 bags Potatoes	
1 bag Corn Vancr.	2 Bs. ea. 2 Pemican	2 " Corn, Vancr.	
1 bale Parfleches "		1 Lodge	
1 keg Gum "	Passengers	1 keg Gum	
1 L. Lodge "	Mr. McLeod's	2 Cassettes	
1 case	family	2 case and basket	
1 cassette family		1 Trading Chest	
1 ps. Flour & Sugar	Crew	1 Portmanteau	
1 Trunk	7 men & boy	1 Strap & p. Trunk	
—		$\frac{1}{2}$ ps. Rifles	
19		—	
		20 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Provs.	
		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pemican	
		1 bale salmon	
		Passengers	
		Messrs. Todd & E. E.	
		Crew	
		8 men.	

<sup>1</sup> Mouth of Spokane river; Spokane House was situated some distance up this river, but below the present city of Spokane.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Okanagan was situated on the north side of the Columbia and east side of the Okanagan at the junction of the rivers.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Kamloops on Thompson River; at site of present town of Kamloops, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. McDonald; made a Chief Factor in 1842; his first (Indian) wife was a daughter of 'King' Comcomly; he lived in later years at "Gencoe," St. Andrews, Que.; signed the deed poll of 1834 as Chief Trader. See p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Or Fort Walla Walla; near the present Wallula and mouth of Wallawalla river.

21st.—Fine weather. Started at 6 a.m. and encamped at the head of the Isles des Pierres Rapids<sup>1</sup> at 5 p.m.

22nd.—Fine weather. Embarked about 6 a.m. and ran the Isles des Pierres Rapids—ran the Priest's Rapids also. Put ashore a little above the Marle Banks and took supper. We afterwards started with the intention of drifting all night but the people paddled till 10 p.m. when we considered safest to put ashore till morning, the night being very dark and the River shoal in some places.

23rd.—Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. and arrived at Nez Perces about 1 p.m. We passed great numbers of Indians this morning on their way downwards. At Nez Perces we found Mr. Birnie<sup>2</sup> sent up from Fort Vancr.<sup>3</sup> to meet us and strengthen<sup>4</sup> the party going down. Great numbers of Indians encamped round the Fort.

24th.—Fine weather. Having settled our business at this place we embarked at 11 a.m. Most of our cargoes remain here and we have scarce anything but our Provs. and Baggage to take down. Encamped at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 at the tail of the long Island.

25th.—Fine weather. Embarked at 4 a.m. The Chutes<sup>5</sup> portage held us  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours and we had just time to clear it and encamped at 5 p.m. began to blow very hard. Found but few Indians on the Portage.

26th.—We had a little rain to-day and a strong head wind which impeded our progress greatly. We could not start till daylight about 6 a.m. on acct. of running the Dalles. Encamped just above the Cascades  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p.m.

27th.—Fine weather. Started about 6 a.m. Got over the Cascades by 9 and arrived at Fort Vancouver about 4 p.m.

### III

#### *Express Journal, Spring, 1828*

##### *March—*

22nd, Saturday.—Two boats with the Express take their departure from Fort Vancouver about 10 a.m. laden as follows

<sup>1</sup> Called 'Island' rapids in journal of eastward journey.

<sup>2</sup> James Birnie; in Nov. 1833, he was in charge of Fort George (Astoria).

<sup>3</sup> Fort Vancouver.

<sup>4</sup> The Indians in the neighbourhood of the Dalles below had been very troublesome.

<sup>5</sup> Celilo falls; see p. 71.

*Boats.*

<i>No. 1</i>		<i>No. 2</i>	
1 Bag Ball C.		1 Bag flour 100 lbs.	
1 Basket Kettles C.		1 " do small & small keg	
1 Bag Flour 100 lbs.		1 keg Beads C.	
1 " Biscuit		1 case Guns &c.	
1 keg do		4 kegs Potatoes N.P.	
1 " Sugar		2 " Beef & Pork	
1 " Spirits		1 " Biscuit	
1 " Potatoes N.P.		1 " Butter 6 galls.	
2 " Beef & Pork		1 " Salt C.	
1 " Tallow	} Provs.	4 Bags Corn & Peas	
2 bags Corn		1 " Pemican	
2 " Pemican		1 Case & Tent	
1 pcs. 6 Hams		1 Maccaron	
1 case & Basket & Tent		1 Ploughshare & Coulter	
1 Pacton dressed Leather	<i>Crew</i>	1 Case Muskets	
1 Trading Chest	1 P. L. Etienne	1 Roll Tobacco	
1 case muskets	Guide	1 Sugar	
2 Cassettes p.p.	2 C. Lacourse Bout	<i>Passengers</i>	
1 Portmanteau	3 Jos. Louis	M. Laframboise & J.	
2 Paper Trunks	4 Louis Shacgoskatsta	Randal	
<i>Passengers</i>	5 A. Vincent	<i>Crew</i>	
Messrs. Dears (2)	6 Kahanow	1 M. Otocanie	Bout
& E. E. & Manson	7 John Simpson	2 P. Karaganyate	"
	8 & 9 Ladrioute &	3 P. Gilbot	M
	Fallandeau	4 V. Beaudin	"
		5 P. Dubois	"
		6 J. B. Dubois	"
		7 Carvoman	"
		8 Thos. Canasanasette	

Messrs. Manson and Laframboise<sup>1</sup> with 2 men go with us as far as the Chutes in case the Indians should be numerous—continues raining all day. Encamp a few miles below the Cascades.

23rd.—Rains almost the whole day incessantly. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  6 a.m.; detained more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  the day at the Cascades Portage and have great difficulty in getting up the boats owing to the lowness of the water, and

<sup>1</sup> In November, 1813, Michel Laframboise was interpreter at Fort George (Astoria); came out in the *Tonquin* 1811, for the Pacific Fur Co.; probably the same Michel Laframboise who is known to have been established on Willamette river before 1842.



encamp just above the portage at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p.m. in order to gum our boats. See very few Indians.

24th.—Fine weather. Start at 5 a.m. Sail all day with a fresh breeze and encamp about half way up the Grand Dalles.<sup>1</sup> Indians not numerous about us—however we find it necessary to keep watch all night. Prepare and load our muskets.

25th.—Tolerable weather. Got over the Grande Dalles by a little after eight a.m. having carried our baggage from our last night's encampment. Lighten at the little Dalles Portage. Then proceed to the Chutes which we clear by 5 p.m., but few Indians on the Portage. Here Mr. Manson<sup>2</sup> and party take leave of us to return to Fort Vancouver. Leaving the Chutes hoist sail with a strong breeze and proceed till 7 o'clock when we encamp some distance below John Day's River.

26th.—Fine weather. Hoist sail this morning with a very strong breeze which continues all day and obliges us to reef half our sails. Encamp about 5 miles below the Long Island at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m.

27th, Thursday.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. A light breeze assists in pushing us forward all day. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 about a league above the Grand Rapid. See a good many geese to-day but kill none. Very few Indians along the river.

28th.—Fine weather. Arrive at Walla Walla before 8 a.m. Delivered over to Mr. Black<sup>3</sup> 5 Barrels Potatoes, 1 two gn. Keg Butter and a Ham—supplied also 1 keg Jama. Rum, 1 galln. out of the voyage stores, Mr. B. being entirely destitute of that article—made over to this place two men, Fallardeau and J. B. Dubois—the former was appointed by Doctor McLoughlin to be exchanged for Bouche, but this

---

<sup>1</sup> For notes respecting localities see eastward journey in 1827, pages 70-93.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Manson, Chief Trader; entered the H. B. Co's. service, 1817; crossed the Rocky mountains in 1823; 1823-25 in Cassiar dist., B.C., and the Athabaska dist.; at Fort Vancouver, April 1825; in charge of Fort George after completion of fort Vancouver; assisted in erection of Fort Langley, B.C., 1827, and in the erection of fort Simpson, B.C., in 1829; in charge of fort McLoughlin, 1830-39; of Kamloops, 1841-42; Superintendent of New Caledonia, 1844-56. "Energetic and as zealous for his employer's interests, his excitable temperament and his frequent recourse to 'club law,' as Sir George Simpson was wont to dub the kind of mitigated terrorism which obtained throughout the district during his management, . . . deprived his exertions of much of their legitimate results by alienating the hearts of his own men and of the natives." (Morice, Northern Interior of British Columbia, 238).

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Black; a Chief Factor, 1838; in 1841, he was assassinated by the nephew of Wanquille (or Tranquille), a friendly neighbouring chief, for having charmed his uncle's life away.

man having died here during winter leaves the Cola.<sup>1</sup> one short of the number calculated upon. Dubois was only to have taken the place of Joyalle when the Brigade should come down, it having been understood by the Doctor that this man had not given regular notice and was therefore liable to be detained another year, but Mr. Black says he gave him notice last year and that he is entitled to go out, this being the case I was obliged to give the above man for him. This I did with great reluctance it not having been so settled by the Doctor.

Saturday, 29th.—Fine weather. Having gathered the necessary documents for completing the accts. of this place we take our departure at 9 a.m. taking with us 1 Roll Tobacco for Colville. Leave at Walla Walla 10 muskets and 9 horns<sup>2</sup> and shot bags for the people down coming. Encamp at 6 p.m. . . . . miles below the Marle Banks. A few Indians visit us. Saw a good many geese and ducks to-day very wild. The mountains behind Walla Walla covered with snow.

30th.—Fine weather. Embark at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. and proceed the fore part of the day sailing with a light breeze. Afternoon the wind becomes ahead blowing fresh. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m. a short distance above the Marle Banks. See a few Indians along the River in a miserable starving condition. One of our boats last night half filled, having been hauled up upon a stone which, the boat being very old, opened her seams. Some of our stores got wet.

31st.—Fine weather, but sharp morning and evening. Start at 4 a.m. Wind strong ahead. Arrive at the Priest's Rapids about noon and reach the head of them only at 8 o'clock p.m. Encamp.

#### *April—*

1st.—Weather as yesterday. Start at 4 a.m. Proceed all day against a head wind and encamp at 7 o'clock opposite the lower end of what is called the Grand Coulee.

2nd, Wednesday.—Fine weather. Embark about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Breakfast below Isle des Pierres. Haul up these Rapids, then hoist sail with a light breeze which continues to assist us occasionally the rest of the day—pole and haul up many rapids. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p.m. above the River Episcouhouse.<sup>3</sup> Find ice and snow in many places along the banks of the Columbia. Country begins to assume a more fertile appearance than since we have left the Chutes. Scattered trees now seen upon the mountains and much snow.

3rd.—Fine weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Head wind. Encamped 2 or 3 miles above Clear Water Creek.

---

<sup>1</sup> Columbia.

<sup>2</sup> Powder horns.

<sup>3</sup> Wenatchee river. See p. 74.



4th.—Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. Snow and ice very thick along the banks of the River. Met an Indian with a note and horse from Mr. A. McDonald,<sup>1</sup> Okanagan. Set off to the Fort.<sup>2</sup> Boats arrive at 5 p.m., find Messrs. McGillivray, McDonald and Ermatinger here.

5th.—Fine Weather. Remain at this place all day collecting the accts. of the District and settling other matters relative to men.

6th.—Fine weather. Start with the Boats about noon. Our number of men are now increased to 20—2 from N. Caledonia and 1 from this place. Passengers J. McGillivray,<sup>3</sup> Esq., Messrs. A. McDonald and E. E.<sup>4</sup> Left at Okanagan for the voyage down of Mr. Connolly<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Dears<sup>6</sup> voyage to N. Caledonia.

1 bag flour

1 keg sugar

$\frac{3}{4}$  keg pork—2 Hams

2 lb Hyson and 2 Twankey

2 gallons Butter

Encamp at 7 p.m.

Monday, 7th.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Passed the Gros Rocher at 1 p.m. Here Messrs. McGillivray and McDonald embark, having ridden across from Okanagan. Encamp at 7 p.m.

8th.—Fine weather. Embark at 5 a.m. Patches snow on the hills. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m. a few (2 or 3) miles above Riviere a cens Poiles.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arch. McDonald. See page 73.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Okanagan, at the point where the Okanagan enters the Columbia; the junction with the route to New Caledonia *via* Kamloops.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph McGillivray; a son of Hon. William McGillivray; partner of the North West Co., 1813; wintered 1813–16 at Fort Okanagan; left Fort George April 1817, overland to Fort William; was in H. B. Co., Columbia Dept., after 1821. Evidently transferred to New Caledonia in Spring, 1828.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ermatinger.

<sup>5</sup> William Connolly; entered N. W. Co. about 1800–02 and went to Athabaska; clerk at Rat River House, 1804; at Cranberry Lake House, Sept. 1805, Indian Lake, 1804–05; bourgeois of Cumberland House in Sept. 1819; Chief Trader, 1821; Chief Factor, 1825; Superintendent, New Caledonia, 1824–30; retired and settled at St. Eustache, Que., 1831; married a white woman while his Indian wife was living; after his death, a law suit between his two wives was carried to the Imperial Privy Council; a *cause célèbre*; the Privy Council decided that his estate was to be divided equally between his two wives.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Dears, a clerk, was in charge of fort Connolly, New Caledonia, in 1831. Later he settled in St. Thomas, U. C. None of his family survives. See Morice, Northern Interior of British Columbia.

<sup>7</sup> Sans Poil river; falls in from the north, 8 miles above the county line between Ferry and Okanagan cos., Wash. Named after a tribe of Indians which, probably, so named by David Thompson because they had no furs to trade. Ross Cox calls it 'Sinapoil' river.



9th.—Day very warm. Started at 4 a.m. Pass the Spokane Forks<sup>1</sup> at 3 p.m. Encamp a few miles above at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6.

10th.—Fair weather. Embark at 4 a.m. Afternoon a light breeze favours us. Encamp about 3 miles above the Grand Rapid.<sup>2</sup>

11th.—Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Make a Portage at the Grand Rapids. Arrive at the Kettle Falls<sup>3</sup> at 11 o'clock. Find Messrs. Work<sup>4</sup> and Kittson<sup>5</sup> at Fort Colville. Mr. Dease<sup>6</sup> not yet arrived.

20th.—This evening the business at this place being done the Express Boats take their departure manned by 14 men and having the following passengers—J. W. Dease and J. McGillivray, Esq., Messrs. A. McDonald and Ermatinger, J. Rundal and 2 boys. Encamp at the Point above the Fort.

Monday, 21st.—Fine weather—morning sharp. Start at 6 a.m. Stiff poling all day. Encamp at 7 p.m. above Riviere a mouton blanc.<sup>7</sup> Passed the Little Dalles by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3. p.m.

22nd.—Fine warm weather. Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Continue poling all [day] and encamp below McGillivray's River at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6. Both Boats are gummed having become very leaky.

23rd.—Fine weather. Embark at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 o'clock. Enter the 1st Lake between 7 and 8 a.m. Continued paddling all day and encamp at 7 p.m. near the end of the Lake. Trade a pair of snow shoes and a small piece dried meat from an Indian.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mouth of Spokane river.

<sup>2</sup> Grand rapids are 7 miles below Kettle falls.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Colville was situated at, or near, the mouth of Colville river and some 300 yards back from the Columbia. The village of Meyers Falls now occupies the site. The falls near by are divided into upper and lower falls by an island. The action of the water eddying and revolving stones at the lower falls has created pot holes—hence the name Kettle falls. See p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> John Work: a Chief Factor in 1846; a brother of the late Senator Wark; entered the H. B. Co.'s service in 1814, serving in the east till 1822 when transferred to the Columbia; from 1835-49 he was stationed at fort Simpson; with P. S. Ogden and James (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, formed the Board of Management of the Columbia Department in 1850; a member of the first Government of Vancouver Island, from 1857 till his death in 1861.

<sup>5</sup> William Kittson was an adopted son of George Kittson, Sorel, Que.; served in the war of 1812-14; Alex. Ross says that in 1819, he placed a party of twenty-six men of the North West Co. "under the charge of a Mr. Kittson, an apprentice-clerk from Canada; a novice in the country, but a smart fellow" (The Fur Hunters of the Far West, I. 207); in 1830, he was Chief Clerk at fort Vancouver; died about 1843, probably in Victoria, B.C.

<sup>6</sup> James Warren Dease; see p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Ross Cox, writing in 1817, says: "so called from some mountain sheep having been killed near the spot by our hunters some years before." Now known as Kettle river from Kettle falls near its mouth.

24th.—Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. having got thro' the first Lake<sup>1</sup> we proceed up the Narrows and encamp at the end of the 2nd Lake<sup>2</sup> at 7 p.m.

25th.—Fine weather. Resume at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. and paddle thro' the Lake by 3. p.m. See Indians and trade 3 pairs snow shoes. Continue up the River till past 7 o'clock and encamp about an hour's march above our last year's encampment.

26th.—Fine weather. Embark at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Very little ice and snow on the banks of the River. Encamp at 7 p.m., beyond our last year's encampment, an hour's march.

Sunday, 27th.—Fine weather. Embark at 4 o'clock and proceed till 7 and encamp on a Sandy Point a short distance below the Dalles des Morts.

28th.—Light rain in the evening. Start at 4 a.m. Get up the Dalles des Morts, take breakfast and gum our boats by 12 o'clock—use the line often. Rapids very strong and frequent. Encamp at 7 p.m.

29th.—Rain in the evening. Embark at 4 a.m. and encamp at 7.

30th.—Rain all the forenoon. Start at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 4 a.m. Arrive at the Boat Encampment at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10. Occupy the remainder of the day packing and preparing the loads.

#### *May—*

1st.—Fine weather. Having put up the Boats and other property in cache, we commence our journey across the mountains at 7 a.m. the 14 men being loaded with the following baggage, &c.

2 paper trunks	2 loads	Get through the first point of woods
2 beds	2 "	by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock found no snow
2 "	1 "	and less water in the swamps than last
1 portmanteau	1 "	year—took breakfast and allowed the
1 case	1 "	men to rest till 1 p.m. and then resumed
2 kegs liquor	1 "	our route over the Battures. Water
3 pactons sundries	3 "	high in the River—at one place the
Provs. for the Mess &c.	2 "	River was too deep to ford with safety
1	1 "	and therefore

we take to the woods for a short distance. Encamp about  $\frac{1}{2}$  way between the two points of woods.

May 2.—Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Gained the 2nd point of woods by 6 o'clock. Got thro' these woods before 9—take breakfast and rest till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11. Then proceed over the Battures<sup>3</sup> to the foot of

<sup>1</sup> Lower Arrow lake.

<sup>2</sup> Upper Arrow lake.

<sup>3</sup> Name applied to the sand and gravel bars of the river-bottoms.



the Grand Cote where we encamp at 2 p.m. We met with a few patches of snow to-day, but have not yet had occasion to put on snow shoes. The traverses to-day were deep and the current strong which obliged us to ford hand in hand for personal safety.

Saturday, 3rd.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Find little snow till we get half way up the Hill. We are then obliged to put on the snow shoes—take breakfast on the top of the Hill between 9 and 10—resume at noon and proceed to within 4 miles of the Height of Land and encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p.m. Send Pierre ahead to advise Cardinalle of our approach.

Sunday, 4th.—Rained and snowed during the whole of last night—day fine but cold. Start at half past 4 a.m. Pass the height of land at 6. Proceed on deep snow near to Campment de fusil—take breakfast. Afterwards snow diminishes fast. Meet Cardinalle on the Grand batture<sup>1</sup> at 1 p.m. with 14 horses relieve our people of their loads and continue our route to the Campment d'Orignal<sup>2</sup> and encamp.

5th.—Cold with snow in morning—day fine. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m. Breakfast at the trou<sup>3</sup> at 8. Proceed at 10 and arrive at the canoes by 5 p.m. People immediately set about repairing the canoes—One of which has got much broken thro' the timbers not having been sufficiently loosened last fall.

6th.—Fine weather. Having patched up the 2 canoes by 10 o'clock we embark. Sent four men by the horses, the water in the River being too low to admit of embarking the whole—get over many shoals with difficulty. Arrive at Jasper's<sup>4</sup> at 6 p.m.

7th.—Fine weather. Remain this day repairing our canoes.

Thursday, 8th.—Fine weather. Start with 3 canoes at 4 a.m. Having on board 9 packs Furs, &c. with Mr. Klyne besides our own baggage. Two of the canoes have each 6 men and the other 5. River very shoal—ground in many places—delay nearly 1 hour gumming one of the canoes. Encamp nearly at Baptiste's River after 7 p.m.

9th.—Fine weather. Embark at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 3 a.m. Remain 2 hours gumming a Boat which was left on the banks of the River 2 years ago and place in it 3 men, one out of each canoe, to take it down to Assiniboine. Encamp above the Big Island— $\frac{1}{4}$  before 8 p.m.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Grand batture is fourteen miles east of the summit of Athabaska pass.

<sup>2</sup>A "few miles" beyond the Grand batture.

<sup>3</sup>Trou, literally, "hole." A French-Canadian name applied to a deep place in a stream. The stream he descended is now called Whirlpool river, and was formerly called Trou or Hole river. The place called the 'Hole' (trou) is at the confluence of Whirlpool and Athabaska rivers. Ross says it was so called "from the depth of the water at the edge of the bank, the Athabaska being unfathomable there."

<sup>4</sup>See *ante*.



10th.—Fine weather. Start at 3 a.m. and arrive at Assiniboine at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9. Prepare our Baggage and cross our horses and commence our journey on the Atha. Portage at 6 p.m., travel only 2 miles and encamp—13 horses are employed transporting our Baggage &c. Messrs. Klyne and Harriott<sup>1</sup> accompany us with packs and horses.

11th.—Morning fine. Messrs. McGillivray, McDonald and Erma-tinger with 5 horses leave the party at 4 a.m. to go ahead to Edmonton having with them the accts. &c. Afternoon a tremendous storm of wind with rain overtakes us in the Burnt woods, bringing down trees in every direction—one fell upon one of the horses and killed him on the spot. Encamp a little beyond the Paddle River.<sup>2</sup>

12th.—Fine weather. Start at 3 a.m. proceed near to Lac a Berland and encamp.

13th.—do do. Before we arrive at Sturgeon River, McGillivray's horse knocks up and is left. Arrive at Edmonton at 7 p.m.

14th.—A man with 6 horses sent off to assist the people behind.

16th.—Mr. Dease<sup>3</sup> and party arrive at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 p.m.

20th.—Fine weather. About 9 a.m. all the Boats, say 16, leave Edmonton manned, 13 Boats each 3 men and 3 in 4 do and laden with about 80 ps. per Boat. In course of the day see a party of Crees and trade a few furs, dressed leather &c. for ammu., tobacco and Rum. Encamp at 9 o'clock.

21st.—Warm weather. Start at 3 a.m. Afternoon see another party of Crees from trade furs, leather &c. Put ashore at 8 o'clock to cook and sup and afterwards lash the Boats together to drift all night.

22nd.—Fine weather. Pass Dog Rump Creek about 6 a.m. Kill a deer—put ashore to cook in the evening—drift all night.

23rd.—Warm weather. Boats ground many times during the day. See several deer. Put ashore at Basfond dinogé about<sup>4</sup> 5 p.m. Hunters go off in search of Buffalo. After supper proceed 3 or 4 miles to an Island and encamp.

24th.—Fine weather. Continue our voyage at daylight. Put ashore to breakfast at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 a.m. and people go off hunting but fall in with no animals. Start again about 11 and are only able to proceed about 2 miles when the wind being too strong ahead we put ashore where some fresh tracks being observed another party are sent off

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Harriott was in charge at fort Assiniboine and joined them there.

<sup>2</sup> A tributary of the Pembina river.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Peter Warren Dease, promoted to Chief Factor three months later; was senior officer of the Dease and Simpson Arctic expedition, 1837–39; was commissariat officer of the second Franklin expedition, 1825–27; on his retirement, he settled near Montreal in 1842.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Bas-fond Kinonge (*kinonge* is Indian for “pike.”)

hunting but return unsuccessful—toward evening two young moose take the River just above our camp and are both killed by some of the half breeds. Wind having abated before sunset push off and make a short distance. Shortly after starting a large grizzly Bear was wounded by Mr. Rowand<sup>1</sup> and notwithstanding a large ball passed thro' his body and knocked him down, he escaped for some distance. A party pursued and were tracking him by his blood, when a rustling in the branches pointed out the spot where he had couched—all the guns were cocked ready to pour a volley upon him, but before the party had time to look about them he sprang thro' the thicket with a dreadful crash, seized one of the men and with his teeth bit him in many parts of the body—he also bestowed a pat on the back of a second, tore his shirt and marked him besides making an attempt at a third. A dog which happened to pass at the time drew Bruin's attention toward him and prevented his doing more mischief to the people and gave also an opportunity of firing at him which could not well be done while he had a man in his possession for fear of shooting the wrong object—the dog got only one of his thighs bitten and the Bear was killed after having received at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz. Balls. Camped for the night.

Sunday, 25th.—Fine weather. Wind ahead strong. Start at daylight. At breakfast time people go off hunting—kill a Bull but only bring part of it. Start again at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 p.m. Drift.

26th.—Fine weather. Pull all day and encamp at the Grand Sucrierie.

27th.—do. Arrive at Carlton<sup>2</sup> about 7 a.m.

29th.—Leave Carlton (all the boats having received additional lading) at 4 a.m. Encamp above the Rapids. Commences raining.

30th.—Rain all last night. Start at daylight. Our Boat broken against a rock—delay more than 2 hours repairing her. Evening—thunder and lightning with rain. See Indians: trade several pactons Rats.<sup>3</sup> Put ashore to supper. Afterwards drift all night.

31st.—Fine weather. Sail most part of the day. Arrive at Cumberland<sup>4</sup> at 10 p.m. Lake too shoal unable to enter.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Rowand, son of Dr. Rowand of Montreal; entered the North West Co. as clerk about 1800; was at fort Augustus in June 1808; was on the Pembina river (br. of Athabaska) May, 1812; in winter 1810–11, he was at Upper White Earth (or White Mud) fort in tp. 51, range II, west of 5th mer.; became a Chief Factor in 1825; in 1827 and 1828 he was, apparently, in command of Edmonton district; Back met him at Norway House, June 17, 1833. See p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Carlton.

<sup>3</sup> Packs of musk-rat skins, weighing 90 lbs. each.

<sup>4</sup> Cumberland House.

June—

2nd.—Fine weather. The Lake being too low, we retraced our way up the little River<sup>1</sup> until we regain the grand river.<sup>2</sup> Left Cumberland at 8 a.m. having left a few bags of pemican &c., and a new boat for Mr. Leith. Only put ashore to sup and afterwards set off to drift for the night.

3rd.—Fine weather. Arrive at the Pas between 8 and 9 a.m. Find freemen from whom we get eggs and a little fish. Encamp a little above Lac Vaseur.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday, 4th.—Fine weather. Start as usual. In making the grand traverse<sup>4</sup> we used the sail a little, but the greater part of the way we had to pull against a strong contrary wind. Encamp at the Point.

5th.—A strong head wind impedes our progress all this day and we only reach the Grand Rapid late afternoon. Water being very low find it necessary to take out half cargoes. People begin to carry. Rain.

6th.—Rain all last night and continues till afternoon. Men run down 7 Boats and return with them light for the remaining cargoes—then run down the other eight boats and afterwards employed carrying the remainder of the cargoes across the Portage.

7th.—Fine weather but cold. The 7 boats being found to be few to embark the half cargoes of 15 boats from this end of the Portage to the end of the Rapid, people fetch up another and afterwards the rest of the pieces are all got down safe. Sturgeon plentiful among the freemen here—trade nearly 100.

8th.—Fine weather. Leave the Grand Rapid early this morning and pull, the weather being perfectly calm, to the point opposite the Pine Island.<sup>5</sup> Breakfast, then hoist sail across to the Islands, thence to the little Stoney Island<sup>6</sup> and encamp.

9th.—Remain wind bound till afternoon and then pull to and along the mainland till 9 p.m. Encamp on a gravelly beach.

10th.—Reload our Boats (we were obliged to unload last night there being an appearance of wind from sea) and start at 5 a.m., pull for sometime and then hoist sail with a light breeze which forwards us to the head of the little Jack River, where we encamp.

---

<sup>1</sup> The stream connecting Cumberland lake and Saskatchewan river.

<sup>2</sup> Saskatchewan river.

<sup>3</sup> Muddy lake; an expansion of the Saskatchewan a few miles above its *débouchement* into Cedar lake.

<sup>4</sup> Across Cedar lake.

<sup>5</sup> Probably present Selkirk island.

<sup>6</sup> May be present Eagle island.



11th.—Start before 3 a.m. and reach the Fort<sup>1</sup> about 6 o'clock. Find here J. G. McTavish, Esq.,<sup>2</sup> from Y<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Rae<sup>4</sup> from Montreal.

## IV.

1828

*Diary of Voyage from York Factory to Lachine in 1828**August—*

2nd.—Saturday.—Two canoes for Lachine left Y at 3 a.m.

5th.—Arrived at Rock Depot. Encamp above Borwick's Fall.<sup>5</sup>

6th.—Overtook 3 Boats—Messrs. Cameron<sup>6</sup> and Stuart.<sup>7</sup>

7th.—Delayed till 4 p.m. by wind and rain at Mossy Portage.

8th.—Breakfasted at Swampy Lake at 9 a.m. Canoe broke at mouth of little Jack River—delay 1 hour. Overtook C. F. Charles.<sup>8</sup>

10th.—Arrive at Oxford at . . . a.m. Equip a 3rd canoe—delayed till 4 p.m. by wind.

13th.—Arrive at Norway House about noon in a gale of wind with 2 canoes—the other arrives in the evening.

---

<sup>1</sup> New Norway House; see *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> John George McTavish; partner in the North West Co.; wintered 1808–09 at Fort Dunvegan; wintered 1809–10 or 1810–11, or both, in the Rocky mountains; reached Astoria, April 11, 1813; left Fort George with the overland party, April 4 1814; he was the principal representative of the North West Co., in the negotiations for the sale of Pacific Fur Co's assets; in 1819, he was captured by a H. B. Co. party and sent to England for trial; became a Chief Factor in 1821, and, as such, signed the "deed polls" of 1821 and 1834.

<sup>3</sup> York Factory.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the W. G. Rae, who in July, 1839, left York Factory to take charge of fort Stikine at the mouth of the Stikine river.

<sup>5</sup> For notes respecting the route between York Factory and Norway House, see pages 93 to 97.

<sup>6</sup> John Dugald Cameron became a Chief Factor in 1821 and signed the deed poll of 1834. Augustus Cameron also signed it as Chief Trader.

<sup>7</sup> John Stuart; after whom Stuart river and lake in New Caledonia were named; accompanied Simon Fraser on his famous voyage down the Fraser to the Pacific coast; was identified with the fur trade till 1836, or thereabouts; he became a Chief Factor in 1821; signed the deed poll of 1834.

<sup>8</sup> No doubt John Charles, Chief Factor, 1821, and signed the deed polls of 1821 and 1834; when on his way north, June 28, 1833, Capt. Back met him near Mossy point, lake Winnipeg; he was then in charge of Athabaska district.

14th.—Fresh arrangements having taken place Messrs. McLean and E. E. are dispatched with 3 canoes—2 15 pcs. and 6 men each for Lac la Pluie<sup>1</sup> 1—7 men, Passengers and Baggage. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 beyond old Norway.<sup>2</sup>

15th.—Start between 3 and 4 a.m. Obligated to put ashore at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 a.m. by wind. Resume at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 3 p.m. and paddle till 9 p.m.

16th.—Start at 2 a.m. Sail all day with a freshening breeze—put ashore at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8.

17th.—Calm. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 a.m. toward evening wind springs up ahead. Encamp beyond Detroit de Duc at 7 p.m.

18th.—Strong wind ahead detains us all day

19th.— do do do Mr. Cumming<sup>3</sup> overtakes us this afternoon.

21st.—Calm day. Arrive at Bas de la Riviere<sup>4</sup> at 6 p.m. Thunder and lightning all night.

22nd.—Wet. Messrs. McLean and E. E. with Mrs. Vicar<sup>5</sup> start in 2 canoes at 6 a.m. loaded with Baggage—leave all the L.L. Pieces except 1 pr. canoe. Encamp at 8 p.m. below the 1st portage in Pinawa.<sup>6</sup>

23rd.—Start at 4. Encamp above Slave portage.<sup>7</sup>

24th.— do Wet. Encamp above the Cave.<sup>8</sup> Mr. C[umming] overtakes us.

25th.—Fine. Start before 4. Encamp at the beginning of the Lake.<sup>9</sup> Thunder and lightning with heavy rain.

26th.—Wind ahead. Paddle thro' the Lake. Encamp—thunder and lightening.

27th.—Start at 4. Encamp above the Long Sault.<sup>10</sup> Heavy rain with thunder and lightning all night.

<sup>1</sup> Rainy lake.

<sup>2</sup> At outlet of lake Winnipeg. See *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Cuthbert Cumming who signed the deed poll of 1834 as Chief Trader.

<sup>4</sup> Fort Bas de la Riviere (or Alexander) is on the south bank of Winnipeg river a few miles from its mouth. It is on, or near, the site of Verendrye's fort Maurepas, built in 1734.

<sup>5</sup> Probably 'McVicar.' Robert McVicar signed the deed poll of 1821 as a Chief Trader; in 1834, had recently retired. Franklin acknowledges his indebtedness to him and named McVicar bay in Great Bear lake in his honour.

<sup>6</sup> Pinawa channel; a channel that leaves the main stream of the Winnipeg river about 50 miles from lake Winnipeg and rejoins it 25 miles from the lake. The canoe route followed the Pinawa.

<sup>7</sup> Slave portage is 64 miles from lake Winnipeg.

<sup>8</sup> Cave portage is 116 miles from lake Winnipeg.

<sup>9</sup> Lake of the Woods; he has arrived at Rat portage, at the present town of Kenora.

<sup>10</sup> Long Sault rapid in Rainy river; 41 miles below the outlet of Rainy lake.

28th.—Arrive at Lac la Pluie<sup>1</sup> at 7 p.m.

30th.—Start before 5. Encamp half way thro' lake at 7 p.m.

*September—*

1st.—Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 a.m. Encamp above the Rapids above Portage Francais<sup>2</sup> at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6—break one canoe in the Rapids.

2nd.—Very cold, start at 4 a.m.

5th.—Arrive at Fort William about 5 p.m. Started from above Portage des Couteaux.<sup>3</sup>

7th.—Leave Fort William<sup>4</sup> about 5 a.m.

8th.—Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 a.m., at 9 put ashore. Wind astern too strong unable to proceed—resume at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3. Encamp at 8.

9th.—Start at 5 nearly calm—arrive at the Pic<sup>5</sup> between 4 and 5 p.m.

10th, Wednesday.—Wind bound.

11th.— ditto

12th.—Start at 5 and encamp at 8.

13th.— ditto. Arrive at Michipicoten<sup>6</sup> at 1 p.m.

14th.—Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 p.m. having left a canoe with 10 men to wait for dispatches from Moose<sup>7</sup> in charge of Mr. Mittleberger. Encamp at 8—10 leagues.

15th.—Wind and rain. Start only at 10 a.m.

16th.—Start early. Sail across one long traverse. Encamp at Point au Pin<sup>8</sup> at 8 p.m.

17th.—Arrive at the Sault<sup>9</sup> about 9 a.m.

18th.—Leave the Sault between 9 and 10. Wind ahead. Encamp at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6.

---

<sup>1</sup> Rainy lake.

<sup>2</sup> French portage; in stream from Windigustigwan lake to French lake, 155 miles from Lake Superior.

<sup>3</sup> Knife portage is  $31\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Fort William.

<sup>4</sup> When the Grand Portage route was abandoned, the head-quarters of the North West Co. were removed to Fort William, named in honour of William McGillivray; building was commenced in 1801, went on in 1802 and 1803 and was, probably, completed in 1804.

<sup>5</sup> A Hudson's Bay Co. post on the north shore of lake Superior, at the mouth of Pic river, near present village of Heron Bay.

<sup>6</sup> A Hudson's Bay Co. post at the mouth of Michipicoten river, Algoma dist.

<sup>7</sup> Moose Factory.

<sup>8</sup> Pte. aux Pins, 6 miles west of Sault Ste. Marie.

<sup>9</sup> Sault Ste. Marie.



19th, Friday.—Fine weather. Start at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 a.m.

20th.—Wind ahead—prevented by fog from starting early—got bewildered 3 or 4 hours before finding the Detroit<sup>1</sup>—arrive at La Cloche<sup>2</sup> about 5 p.m.

21st.—Sunday.—Day of rest—fine weather.

22nd.— do Wind strong.

23rd.—Leave La Cloche Fort at 9 a.m.—at 1 forced ashore by wind at La Cloche.

24th.—Start at 5 a.m. Enter Riviere des Francais<sup>3</sup> at 4 p.m. Encamp between 7 and 8 at Grand Campment. Heavy rain during day.

25th.—Embark after 5 a.m. Breakfast at the 1st Portage.<sup>4</sup> Encamp on the last.<sup>5</sup>

26th.—Start before 6. Cross Lac Nipissingue<sup>6</sup> partly sailing. Encamp at the height of land—passed 5 portages.

27th.—Start before 6. Enter the Ottawa<sup>7</sup> about 6 p.m. Encamp at Campment Rouge. Passed 5 portages. Rain off and on these last 3 days.

28th.—Wet weather. Start  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 9 a.m., break one of the canoes leaving Roche Capitaine<sup>8</sup> portage. Encamp at Riviere de Moine<sup>9</sup> past 7.

29th.—Overcast. Start before 6 a.m. Breakfast at the lower Portage Joachim.<sup>10</sup> Encamp about 9 miles above Fort Coulonge.<sup>11</sup>

30th.—Fine weather. Arrive at Fort Coulonge about 8 a.m. Stop to breakfast. Farms scattered along the River's Bank. Encamp at the upper end of Lac des Chats.

<sup>1</sup> The Little Detroit, a strait between Aird island and the mainland, north shore of North Channel; has a minimum width of 115 feet.

<sup>2</sup> A post on the mainland seven miles N.W. of La Cloche island, North channel.

<sup>3</sup> French river.

<sup>4</sup> Petites Dalles, 3 miles from Lake Huron.

<sup>5</sup> Chaudiere portage, 48 miles from lake Huron.

<sup>6</sup> Lake Nipissing; distance from Chaudieré portage to east end of lake, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

<sup>7</sup> At present village of Mattawa, 44 miles from lake Nipissing.

<sup>8</sup> Rocher Capitaine rapid, 35 miles from Mattawa.

<sup>9</sup> River Dumoine, 45 miles from Mattawa.

<sup>10</sup> Des Joachim rapid, 52 miles from Mattawa.

<sup>11</sup> Present village of Fort Coulonge.

*October—*

1st.—Fine weather. Start at 3 a.m. Arrive at the Chats<sup>1</sup> before 8. Take breakfast Chief McNab<sup>2</sup> and C. T.....<sup>3</sup> Encamp above the Chaudiere.

2nd.—Cross the Chaudiere Portage<sup>4</sup> and breakfast below By-town.<sup>5</sup> Encamp above the Long Sault.<sup>6</sup>

3rd.—Engage a guide and run down the Sault 5 men per canoe—the others walking detain us two hours. Encamp at Point Claire.

4th.—Arrive at Lachine about 8 a.m.

9th.—Mr. Mittleberger arrives—13th day from Michipicoten.

---

<sup>1</sup> Chats falls, 33 miles above Ottawa.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald McNab of McNab, the last of the chiefs of his clan; emigrated to Canada with a portion of his clan in 1825, and settled on the Ottawa; endeavoured to establish a feudal system but, after numerous disputes with his subjects, the Government bought his lands in 1862 for \$16,000.00.

<sup>3</sup> Name is undecipherable but looks like 'Fisher'; in 1826-27, a 'Mr. Fisher' was in charge of the Two Mountains district which included the Lievre River posts and, possibly, the Chats. (McLean, Twenty-five years service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, I. 149). Probably the Alexander Fisher who signed the deed poll of 1834 as Chief Trader.

<sup>4</sup> Portage past Chaudiere falls, at Ottawa city.

<sup>5</sup> Ottawa city.

<sup>6</sup> Long Sault rapids, opposite Hawkesbury, Ont., 60 miles above Montreal.

## APPENDIX

EXTRACT FROM DOUGLAS' JOURNEY TO HUDSON'S BAY; PUBLISHED IN THE COMPANION TO THE BOTANICAL MAGAZINE, VOL. II, PP. 135-138.

"At noon on the 27th of April, we had the satisfaction of landing at the Boat Encampment at the base of the Rocky Mountains. How familiar soever these snowy mountains have been to us, so that we might be expected to lose an adequate idea of their immense altitude, yet on beholding the Grand "*Dividing Ridge*" of this mighty continent, all that we have seen before seems to fade from the mind, and to be forgotten in the contemplation of their height and indescribably rugged and sharp peaks, with the darkness of the rocks, their glaciers and eternal snows.

The principal branch of the Columbia is here sixty yards wide, the Canoe River forty, and the middle one, [Wood river] on whose banks we ascend, is thirty.

On Saturday the 28th, having packed the whole of my journals in a tin box, and carrying a case of seeds and a shirt or two, tied up in a bundle, we commenced our march across the mountains in an easterly direction, first entering a low swampy piece of ground, about three miles long, knee-deep of water, and covered with rotten ice, through which we sank more than a foot down at every step that we took. Then we crossed a deep muddy creek, and entered a point of wood, principally consisting of *Pine*, *P. balsamea*, *nigra*, *alba*, and *Strobus*, together with *Thuja plicata*. About eleven we entered the snow, which was four to seven feet deep. moist and soft, which, together with the fallen timber, made walking in snow shoes very fatiguing. We camped that night on the west side of the middle branch of the Columbia. Except two species of Squirrel, we saw no animals.

Sunday the 29th, min. heat 23°, max. 43°. After a sound and refreshing night's rest, we started at four this morning, proceeding for six miles due East; in the course of which we made as many traverses or fordings of the river, which was two and a half to three feet deep, clear, and with a powerful current. Though the breadth did not exceed twenty-five to fifty yards, the length of time passed in the water was considerable, for the feet cannot with safety be lifted from the bottom, as if once the water gets under the soles of the feet, which should be glided along to prevent this, over goes the whole person. In very powerful currents, it is necessary to pass in a body, and the one supporting the other, in an oblique direction. Then we came to a level valley,



three miles broad, dry at this season, but during the summer forming an inland lake, bounded by the mountains. Our course was afterwards due East for four miles, and in this short distance we made seven fordings more. We did not require snow-shoes here, as there was a fine hard solid crust, but on coming out of the water and trotting along on the hoar-frost, we found it intensely cold, and all our clothing that was wet, immediately became cased with ice; still no inconvenience of any consequence was sustained. About nine we entered another point of wood, where we had recourse to our snow-shoes, and finding the snow becoming quite soft towards noon, we camped for the day, having travelled fifteen miles. *Panax horrida* (Hook. Fl. Bor. Am.t. 98), a *Dryas*, and a *Betula*, were the only plants I had added to my catalogue; at night a large Wolverine came to our camp to steal, for which he was shot. We saw great numbers of *Anas Canadensis*, and one female of *Tetrao Canadensis*.

On Monday the 30th the heat was just the same as the day before, our elevation was seven hundred feet above the river. The route lay through a wood and a valley precisely similar to those we had passed yesterday, and during a walk of two miles and a half, we were obliged to ford the river seven times, keeping in a direct line from point to point. Four more miles, and as many times crossing the river, brought us to the termination of this platform or valley, and here the stream parts into two branches, the larger one flowing from the North, the other from due East. We crossed at the angle between the two streams, and commenced our ascent of the Big Hill. The snow being so deep, at least six feet, the markings on the trees which indicated the path were frequently hid, and we found it no easy matter to keep the track. The steep ascent, the deep gullies, the brushwood and fallen timber, rendered walking very laborious. We encamped two miles up the hill, having gained five miles to-day. The timber gradually becoming smaller, no new plants or animals were added to our store.

May 1st, Tuesday. This morning the thermometer stood at 2° below Zero, and the maximum heat at noon was 44°. We continued ascending, and had the satisfaction at ten to reach the summit, where we made a short pause to rest ourselves, and then descended the eastern side of the Big Hill, to a small round open piece of ground, through which flowed the smaller or East branch of the river, being the same as we had left yesterday at the western base of the Big Hill. To the right is a small point of low stunted wood of *Pinus nigra*, *alba*, and *Banksiana*. Near this place we started at mid-day a fine male specimen of *Tetrao Franklinii*, which I preserved with great care. Being well rested by one o'clock, I set out with the view of ascending what seemed to be the highest peak on the North. Its height does not appear to be less

than 16,000 or 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. After passing over the lower ridge, I came to about 1,200 feet of by far the most difficult and fatiguing walking I ever experienced, and the utmost care was required to tread safely over the crust of snow. A few mosses and lichens, *Andreae* and *Jungermannia*, are observable, but at the elevation of 4,800 feet vegetation no longer exists; not so much as a *lichen* is found in a tract of 1,200 feet of eternal ice. The view from the summit is of too awful a cast to afford pleasure. Nothing can be seen, in every direction, far as the eye can reach, except mountains, towering above each other, rugged beyond all description; while the dazzling reflection from the snow, the heavenly azure of the solid glaciers, with the rainbow tints of their shattered fragments, and the enormous icicles suspended from the perpendicular rocks, and the majestic but terrible avalanches hurling themselves from the more exposed southerly rocks, produced a crash and groaned through the distant valleys with a sound only equalled by that of an earthquake. Such scenes give a sense of the stupendous and wonderful works of the Almighty. This peak, the highest yet known in the Northern Continent of America, I felt a sincere pleasure in naming "Mount Brown," in honour of R. Brown, Esq., the illustrious Botanist, a man no less distinguished by the amiable qualities of his mind than by his scientific attainments. A little to the southward is one nearly of the same height, rising into a sharper point; this I named "Mount Hooker," in honour of my early patron, the Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow. This mountain, however, I was not able to climb. A species of *Menziesia*, *Andromeda hypnoides*, *Gentiana*, *Lycopodium alpinum*, *Salix herbacea*, *Empetrum*, *Juncus biglumis* and *triglumis* were among the last of the phœnogamous plants which I observed.

Wednesday, the 2nd. At three o'clock I felt the cold so much, and the thermometer only stood at 2° below Zero, that I was obliged to rise and enliven the fire, to get myself comfortably warmed before starting. Through three hundred yards of gradually rising open low Pine-woods, we passed, and about the same distance of open ground took us to the basin of this mighty river—a small circular lake, twenty yards in diameter, in the centre of the valley, with a small outlet on the West end, namely, the Wood River branch of the Columbia, and another at the East end, namely, one of the branches of the Athabasca, which must itself be considered one of the tributaries of the Mackenzie River. This is not the only fact of two opposite streams flowing from the same lake. This, "*the Committee's Punch Bowl*," is considered as being half-way, and we were quite glad to know that the more laborious and arduous part of our journey was accomplished. The little stream, the Athabasca, over which we had stepped so conveniently, presently assumed a considerable size, and was



dashed over cascades, and formed cauldrons of lime-stone and basalt. Seven miles below the pass, as do the tributaries of the Columbia on the the western side, so the Athabasca widens into a narrow lake, and has a much greater distance than the Columbia. At this point, the snow had nearly disappeared, and the temperature was greatly increased. Many of the mountains on the right hand are at all seasons tipped with glaciers. At ten we stopped to breakfast, fifteen miles from the ridge, where we remained for four hours. The thermometer stood at 2° below Zero this morning, and had risen to 57° at two p.m., a heat which we found dreadfully oppressive. This afternoon, having set off a little before the party, I missed my way, and wandered from the path. As the sun was edging on the mountains, I descried about a mile off to the East, behind a low knoll, a curling blue smoke, rising from above the trees, a sign which gave me infinite pleasure. I quickened my steps, and soon came up to it, when I found Jacques Cardinal, who had come to the Moose Encampment, and brought with him eight horses to help us on our way. He treated me with an excellent supper of mutton, the flesh of *Ovis montana* (Geoff.), and regretted he had no spirits to offer me. Pointing to the stream, he jocularly said, "there's my barrel and it is always running." The kind fellow also afforded me a part of his hut.

On the next morning, Thursday the 3rd, the whole party were brought up by Cardinal; they had been very uneasy at my non-appearance the preceding night. We breakfasted and proceeded by the banks of the stream, I preferring walking, though the ground was still soft from the recently melted snow, and strewn with timber of small size. The difference of climate and soil, with the amazing disparity in the variety and stature of the vegetation, is truly astonishing, one would suppose it was another hemisphere, the change is so sudden and so great. We crossed the principal branch of the Athabasca, which becomes a river seventy yards broad, when joined by the stream on the banks of which we had descended. Here it was our intention to camp for the night, but Cardinal found his horses so unexpectedly strong, that the route was continued to the Rocky Mountains' House [Henry House] where we were to find canoes, and which we gained soon after six p.m. Several partridges were killed, but the only plant new to me this day, was *Anemone Nuttalliana* (*A. patens*, Hook),\* which was in full flower. The scenery here is very fine, with a small lake and open valley, commanding a sublime prospect of the mountains. Our distance to-day was thirty-four miles. On the following day (Friday) we embarked at day-light in two fine light birch canoes, and went rapidly before the stream, the banks of which are low and woody, in some places narrow, in others widening into narrow lakes full of sand shoals. We stayed to breakfast on a small low island in the Upper [Jasper]

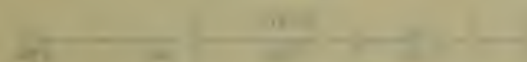


Lake, where we had some mountain-sheep's flesh, given us by Cardinal's hunter. Continuing our route, we passed a ridge of steep mountains on the right, and five miles lower down a similar range to the left, which are the termination of the dividing mountains on the East side, and arrived at Jasper House at two p. m. The minimum heat to-day had been 29°, the maximum 61°.

Saturday the 8th. This day presented scarcely any variety. The river is one hundred to one hundred and forty yards wide, shallow and rapid, with low gravelly banks, wooded with *Poplars* and *Pines*. Its vicinity abounds with wild fowl, and the Northern Diver charmed us with his deep mellow melancholy voice in the evenings. Our progress was ninety-three miles. The following morning we had gained but three miles, when we were detained by the ice, and here we found Mr. G. M'Dougall. We got on slowly, owing to a portage, where the canoes had to be carried a considerable distance to a place where the main channel was clear, after which we proceeded rapidly, and arrived at Assinaboyne, one hundred and eighty-four miles from Jasper House the next day. But as this place afforded us but little food, we pushed on without delay for Lesser Slave Lake, where we hoped to meet Mr. J. Stewart, who received us there with the utmost kindness, and showed me in particular so much attention that I travelled partly with the Brigade, and latterly alone with a single guide on foot to Fort Edmonton, on the Saskatchewan River, which I reached on Monday the 21st."

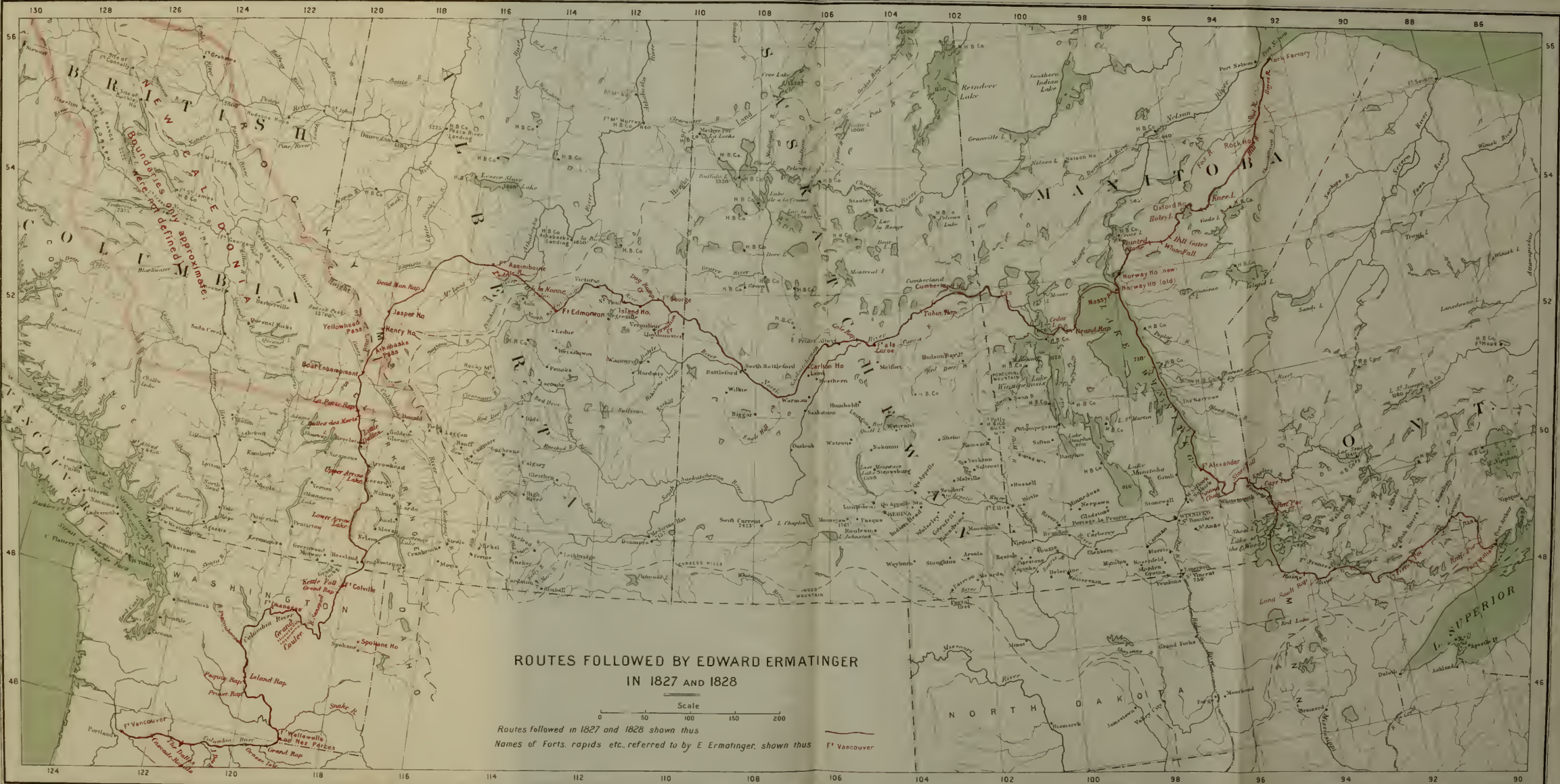
ROUTES FOLLOWED BY EDWARD EDGAR

IN 1857 AND 1858



Scale of Miles. 0 10 20 30  
The distance between the points marked on the map is given in miles.





























































































15.

~~JUL 01 1984~~

---

Brigham Young University

